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The Shape of Things

THE WALLACE CONVENTION WAS HALF political rally, half religious revival. Youthful enthusiasm and singing dominated the sessions. In spite of this atmosphere of exuberance, the proceedings were rather cut and dried; the candidates had been picked in advance and the platform was written to order. By adopting the old name Progressive, the new party obviously intends to place itself in the tradition of T. R. and Fighting Bob La Follette. For several evident reasons, this hope is probably doomed to disappointment. The Bull Moose Party was an actual offshoot of the Republican Party, a seceding left wing. Mr. Wallace's movement, on the other hand, can claim only a handful of old New Dealers; most of the disappointed heirs of the Roosevelt Democracy are either reluctant supporters of Truman or still wandering in the political wilderness. As for La Follette, he started his Progressive Party with the support of the national farm and labor groups, none of which has enlisted under Wallace. Neither previous movement was helped or embarrassed by the adhesive cooperation of the Communists, while in both earlier campaigns, the extreme left, by whatever name it went, vigorously attacked the Progressives as lily-livered liberals.

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THE NEW PARTY'S PLATFORM AND THE speeches of Mr. Wallace and Senator Taylor echoed the party line closely enough to dispel any idea that a break with the Communists is likely. Most non-Communist progressives will agree with much that was said and written in Philadelphia, but the refusal of the Wallace leadership to qualify its attack on American foreign policy with any consideration of the effect of Russian policies, or to find any virtue whatsoever in the European Recovery Program, for example, is sure to alienate independent voters who are looking for a political rallying ground outside the old parties. Many progressives must admit that the E. R. P. may well be used by big business as a source of profit; only a handful will accept the thesis that it is nothing more than a "capitalist conspiracy" to enslave the world and force it to buy American goods. Distinctions of this sort would have been laughed down by the convention enthusiasts; the same distinctions will rise to haunt them next November. Mr. Wallace himself said that the support of the Communists would be a liability. If he really believed this, he could, one would think, have established the difference between his views and theirs. The intervention of James Loeb, representing the Americans for Democratic Action, was obviously a provocation rather than a sincere effort to put the case for an independent third party. It was inevitable that an attack like this would be answered in kind by the Progressive leaders. But it is surprising and disturbing that no honest advocate of a radical, non-Communist program could be found among the assembled Gideonites; a few half-hearted attempts to inch away from the party line were overwhelmingly defeated. For lack of such a program, the Progressives will, we are sure, pay heavily at the polls, forfeiting the big protest vote against Republican reaction and Democratic ineptness which would otherwise flow to a party campaigning on a platform of peace and abundance,

Drawing by Lorenzini

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ANDRE MARIE, THE NEW FRENCH PREMIER, has thrown his great personal prestige into the almost impossible task of reconstituting a Third Force Cabinet. Everybody knows how his predecessor, Robert Schuman, had to dodge from one Parliamentary crisis to another under the combined fire of De Gaullists and Communists. This is the destiny of every Third Force attempt in a France haunted by the nightmare of continuously rising prices and submerged in the clash generated by the split between West and East. M. Marie is trying to reduce those difficulties by bringing into the Cabinet new elements from the right, a move which has antagonized a big portion of the Socialist Party. No enlargement on the left was possible, since the exclusion of the Communists both corresponds to the Premier's own views and was the unanimous condition put by the other parties as the price of their support. By their tactics in the last eighteen

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months, the Communists have succeeded only in building a united front against themselves. The reinforcement from the right, however, has not assured the new government a firm majority. While Paul Ramadier had almost the entire assembly behind him at the start of his regime, and Schuman received 412 votes, M. Marie could only muster 352, forty-one more than the required minimum. To compensate for his Parliamentary weakness, he has tried to fortify the authority of the government by the inclusion of Léon Blum and Paul Reynaud. In this way, the old idea of a "Cabinet of personalities" has been to a certain degree realized, since M. Schuman, the retiring Premier, has agreed to take over the Quai d'Orsay from M. Bidault, whose support of the American policy in Germany was the direct cause of his replacement. Time will tell whether Marie's "brain trust" will enable the Third Force to save France from the rule of either De Gaulle or Thorez.

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THE STORY OF STEPHEN J. SUPINA IS CLEARLY one of life imitating art. The dramatic air-borne crusade for peace of this former air-force gunner, and the events which quickly followed, recall the misadventures of Johnny Johnson, hero of the Group Theater's musical "comedy" of the early thirties by Paul Green and Kurt Weill. Johnson, theatergoers will remember, found in the trenches of France that war was hell. He managed to break in on a conference of the captains and the kings, and demanded that they put an end to hostilities. For this, he was rewarded with arrest, an interview with a psychiatrist, an enforced rest in an insane asylum, and a broken life. His latter-day *alter ego*, a veteran of thirty-three combat missions over Europe and Africa and the recipient of six air medals, flew over United Nations headquarters last Thursday in a light plane and exploded a small but noisy bomb several hundred feet above the buildings in which so much lip service has been given to peace. Obviously a troubled man, he turned himself in to the police the next day. He was immediately booked for illegal possession of explosives and for committing an act of "malicious mischief," and the Civil Aeronautics Administration prepared to charge him with violation of flying regulations. Shortly thereafter, it was announced that he would be examined by a psychiatrist.

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THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF SUPPLY LAST WEEK lifted a corner of the security veil that has been thrown over atomic research in Britain, as everywhere else. There is, of course, no way of telling how much of the story Sir John Cockcroft, director of the Harwell Atomic Energy Research Establishment, chose to reveal when he took correspondents—British and foreign—on a guided tour through his plant. But based on the first reports in the London *Times* and the New York *Herald*

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Tribune, British atomic scientists would seem to be devoting their efforts chiefly to research into nuclear physics, and the use of atomic energy as a peace-time power source. Sir John refused to discuss "Britain's capacity to produce the atomic bomb," which may go to show that Britain has as yet no such capacity—such, indeed, was the inference of the remarks of the French scientist, Dr. L. Kowarski, as reported last month in these pages by Leonard Engel. And still the British have deliberately let it be known that they are making strides in the world atomic-development race. They intend to equal or surpass the "experiments on the frontiers of nuclear physics which at the present time can only be carried out in one place in the world—the Radiation Laboratory of the University of California." To accomplish this, the British are building at Harwell the biggest cyclotron in Europe, and one twice that size is planned for the University of Birmingham. Taken all in all, this challenge to American supremacy in the atomic field is a healthy one, both in the interest of competitive research and to the end that the fabulous profits of the peace-time products of atomic energy shall accrue to the people at large, as they are apt to do under Labor's administration, rather than to a vested handful, as they are almost certain to do under "the American way."

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JOLTED BY THE MANY PROTESTS THAT greeted his reaffirmation of the ban on *The Nation*, Dr. William Jansen has indicated his approval, in principle, of the creation of a hand-picked committee to pass on the use of controversial reading matter in the New York City schools. This proposal comes a little too late, and is a little too carefully hedged, to be considered anything more than a face-saving dodge. However, it is significant as a belated admission of the weaknesses and errors in the policy of the Board of Superintendents up to now. The board could have submitted the whole question of censorship to an advisory committee before taking its discriminatory action. Had such a committee been in existence, it would certainly not have banned *The Nation*—provided, of course, that it was made up of persons convinced of the necessity of maintaining the separation of church and state and devoted to the ideals of civil liberty. Dr. Jansen, after first banning *The Nation* in secret session and then refusing to grant a public hearing, apparently now realizes that he is mired in his authoritarian position, and is seeking a way out. If he sincerely wishes to make amends for having violated his pupils' right to free access to information he can use his influence with his board to obtain reinstatement of *The Nation*. Otherwise, he faces the humiliating prospect of reversing himself under pressure of an aroused community opinion which clearly recognizes the issue of freedom involved here. Why the United Parents Association should have associated itself with Dr. Jansen's scheme remains to be explained, for its counsel should know that power to name an advisory committee is vested in the State Commissioner of Education.

Big Steel's Big Bite

SOME weeks ago, United States Steel made a claim to leadership in stemming inflation by reducing prices and holding wages at their existing level. At that time, *The Nation* expressed regret that the corporation had not taken this stand at an earlier period, when it would have had more chance of success. Now, Big Steel has graciously conceded defeat by granting a wage boost and at the same time handing itself a generous price increase. The price advance should, as far as an outsider can determine, more than compensate for any rise in its wage bill plus its cost of materials. The surrender on wages was of course necessitated by the fact that consumer prices have continued to rise and numerous unions in other industries, notably automobiles, have won advances.

The price increase comes at a convenient time to bulwark high steel profits against the loss of the "basing-point system," which in the case of cement has been outlawed by the Supreme Court. There was talk that Congress might pass a law making it legitimate for steel, and every prospect that a Republican Congress would favor it, but at this juncture United States Steel announced abandonment of the system. Why such a spiritless surrender of an old and profitable method of pricing—one which supported central price control by the big companies? The system was to charge customers, not the price of steel at the mill, wherever it was actually produced, but the price at a single "basing point," where it might or might not be produced, plus the freight charges from that point to the customer, whether or not such freightage was actually entailed. Substitution of genuine f.o.b. mill pricing would have meant lower prices to many customers if this new general advance had not been decreed.

The chance that labor will gain anything in real income by the present round of wage increases is slim. Indeed, the wage-earners have lost ground since 1946. Why, then, are unions so foolish as to demand more money and thus stimulate inflation? The reason is that nobody has been able to prove to them that prices would not go on rising even if they refrained. A large part of the soaring cost of living is accounted for by the price of food, which rises not because of farmers' increased costs, but because, in the absence of price control and rationing, it responds to the excess of world demand over world supply. Food prices will come down when grains become more abundant—but not much, because under present law the government must support them at 90 per

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cent of parity, and parity rises with every notch gained by the prices of industrial products. Meanwhile, consumers whose incomes are not augmented by wage rises lose more in purchasing power than union workers who have won a third round.

Like many big corporations, United States Steel is in a protected situation—a situation that will be discussed more fully next week in an article on the steel shortage by A. G. Mezerik. The wages it pays may be forced up by pressure, but only after a long and difficult process of bargaining. At any moment, however, it can decide to increase its prices without bargaining with anybody. Customers still are glad to get all the steel available, at any price. Corporate profits and savings go up with every successive round of wage and price increases. If deflation and recession follow, the big corporations will be sustained by their ample reserves, while many consumers will have already lost their savings through the preceding inflation.

Perhaps steel needs the profits it is gathering. Economists can be found who argue that it does, and that its price increases have been relatively moderate. But whatever the force of the argument, the corporate executives alone decide what the price shall be. Should they not be compelled to justify, in collective bargaining with representatives of the consumers, the wages the corporation itself receives? Should there not be, in other words, governmental price control of basic commodities?

Needed: a Fresh Start in Berlin

ON JULY 17, Major General William Donovan, wartime head of the OSS, after consultations with top military government officials, issued a statement in Berlin calling for a show of force to test Soviet intentions. About the same time, an obviously inspired series of reports from Germany suggested that armed convoys would shortly be dispatched to break the blockade of the German capital, and an American force of B-29's and jet fighters arrived in Britain "for training."

We do not know whether these moves represented emanations of the military mind or were expressly authorized by the President and the Secretary of State; whether they were part of a definite plan or an attempt at bluff. If our diplomats and generals were staging a bluff, they only succeeded in shaming a nation of poker players. The Russians were not in the least moved by the threat of armed convoys; if they were scared, they gave no sign. But Wall Street immediately displayed its concern by a sharp sell-off, and our allies in Europe, Britain, France, and the Low Countries quickly indicated they were thoroughly alarmed by the suggested American action. Small blame to them. If a shooting war is precipitated, Western Europe will be immediately overrun. We may seek to atomize Moscow and other Russian cities, but that will not prevent the Red Army from advancing to the Atlantic.

Faced by a break in the united front of the Western powers, the State Department hastened to deprecate the idea of forcing a showdown at this stage. According to the *Herald Tribune* of July 21, officials suggested that "loose words and hysterical talk would only aggravate the Berlin situation and complicate efforts to solve it." Mr. Marshall and the President both made reassuring statements indicating that the United States was willing to explore every possibility for peaceful settlement of the Berlin dispute.

We have to inquire, therefore, what possibilities still exist? The American, British, and French governments, in their recent notes to Moscow, stated that they were willing to negotiate about all problems relating to Berlin once communications were restored. In its reply, the Soviet government insisted that the Berlin situation had been created by "systematic violation of the Potsdam agreement" by the Western powers, notably by their introduction of currency reform and their institution of a separate government for western Germany. "Agreement on the quadripartite administration of Berlin," the Soviet note pointed out "was an inseparable component part of the agreement on quadripartite administration of Germany as a whole." Consequently, while willing to negotiate, the Soviet government refused to link negotiations to fulfilment of preliminary conditions or to confine discussions to Berlin.

In arguing that the Western powers have broken the Potsdam agreement, the Russians have a case: it would be a strong one had they not repeatedly violated the pact themselves. Potsdam, in fact, has proved unworkable and unsatisfactory to both sides. Cannot the present impasse be ended, therefore, and a fresh start be made on the German problem by agreeing to revise Potsdam?

The question arises whether, with our fatal facility for getting out on shaky limbs, we have blocked such a way out by our insistence on treating the Berlin situation as an independent issue which must be negotiated by itself. Foreign Secretary Bevin apparently believes that the wider agenda required by the Russians may be acceptable. He told the House of Commons, on July 22, that Britain would not yield to coercion but was ready "to discuss Berlin and other matters with the Soviet government once communications have been restored." This certainly is a minimum condition: the Western powers could not possibly carry on negotiations while the present threat to their positions in Berlin remained. It would seem, therefore, that the next step must be to discover, through diplomatic channels rather than through a publicized exchange of notes, whether Moscow

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is willing to lift the blockade provided that the German situation as a whole is thrown open for a four-power discussion.

We urge an attempt to start negotiations on these lines with no illusions about the difficulty of bringing them to a satisfactory conclusion. It may well be, as some well-informed commentators fear, that Moscow aims at nothing less than total political and economic control of Germany. But the way to test Russian intentions is around a table and not by planning armed adventures which, viewed either from the military or the diplomatic angle, appear fantastic to the point of lunacy.

The Communist Arrests

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

NINE Communist leaders have been arraigned and released on bail and three others are still, as I write, eluding arrest; all twelve have been indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government by organizing a "society" (that is, the Communist Party) dedicated to that end. Specifically, these men are charged with violation of the Smith act, which prohibits teaching or advocating "the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the government of the United States by force and violence." The constitutionality of the Smith act has never been tested in the Supreme Court; nor has the court finally ruled whether or not the Communist Party comes under the terms of the act.

A Supreme Court decision on these matters is obviously desirable—indeed, is long overdue; but a good many liberals are using this fact to ease their consciences around an awkward corner. From reading some of the comments in the press, one would get the impression that the only purpose of the investigation and the indictments was to provide such a test. Let no one fool himself with soothing sophistries such as this; the arrest of the Communists was a political act of no different nature—and with certainly on greater justification—than the arrests of anti-Communist political leaders in Prague or Bucharest. Even the methods used were comparable to those used in police states the world over: the preliminary investigations were secret, the indictments were sealed, the charges were general. The purpose in Washington, as in points east, is to outlaw a party that threatens, or is supposed to threaten, the existing system of government. For if the coming trial shows that (1) the Smith act is constitutional and (2) the Communist Party advocates forcible overthrow of the government, then anyone who belongs to it is *ipso facto* subject to arrest and prosecution as a conspirator, and the party itself becomes an illegal organization.

To attempt to outlaw the Communist Party at this time can hardly be considered a purely legalistic exercise which might have taken place whenever the Department of Justice happened to get around to it. Nor is it likely that individual acts representing a "clear and present danger" to the state will be revealed in the trial. Nothing of the sort, certainly, is suggested in the indictment, which focuses its attention upon the organization of the Communist Party in 1945 (following the war-time interlude when it went under the *nom de guerre* of the Communist Political Association) and its purported subversive nature since that date.

The Civil Liberties Union emphasized this point in its protest against the indictments, saying that "it seems apparent that the government is intending to prosecute and make criminal mere publications and associations . . ." To this, Frank H. Gordon, Special Assistant United States Attorney in charge of the prosecution, replied that the government would obviously have to prove "active participation by the defendants in the carrying out of the aims of the Communist Party." But if the party's aims are found to be subversive, then the text of the Smith act itself controverts Mr. Gordon, since it provides that merely to hold membership in a "society, group, or assembly of persons" defined as subversive is unlawful. Clearly, the government's case against the leaders hinges, not upon their overt acts, but upon its ability to outlaw the organization itself.

THE "line" has changed many times, but the essential purpose of the Communist Party has been the same since it was organized in 1919, following the split in the Socialist Party. Its reappearance in 1945 signalized a shift in tactics but no change in doctrine. If the party is subversive now, it has been subversive from its start. The fact that the government waited twenty-six years to launch a legal assault upon the Communists, and chose this particular moment to do it, would indicate to anybody not blinded by propaganda that the present round-up is an act of political war, an integral part of the struggle against Russia, the opposition to Wallace, and the general atmosphere of heresy-hunting that pervades America in this age of unreason.

Some good may possibly come of the trial of these men. The Smith act may be held unconstitutional. The status of the Communist Party will probably be clarified, and a host of conflicting practices and rulings in the courts, in deportation proceedings, and in loyalty cases, may be brought under some fixed criteria. But the good will be incidental to the main results, which will be almost wholly evil. We do not need any new stimuli to hatred and fear. Already, this country is in a state of moral and nervous instability that horrifies visitors from Europe. Nothing but sheer hysteria could account for the irresponsible charges of subversive activity leveled against United Nations representatives the other day by

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a State Department official. Nothing but general insanity could explain the outlawing of a party whose total irrelevance to the American political situation is reflected, not only in its numerical insignificance, but in its ability to exercise influence only through non-Communist organizations and parties. If fear of Russia is responsible for the Administration's onslaught against the Communists, it is rendering that vassal party far more respect than the Kremlin would dream of doing. If the Administration is animated by domestic political aims—a setback for Wallace or a counterbalance to the Republican Mundt bill—then it is merely contemptible.

Russia, Plus and Minus

I. WAR OF THE ECONOMISTS

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

London, July

WHEN I left Moscow some weeks ago, the people showed the fullest confidence that there was going to be no war. If Molotov's "diplomatic indiscretion" in publishing his exchange of notes with Ambassador Bedell Smith achieved nothing else, it at least created this feeling in Russia. However legitimate may have been the subsequent buckets of cold water administered by Mr. Marshall, Mr. Truman, and others, the world had been convinced, so the Russians believed, that the Kremlin was "willing to talk," and would be willing to do so in any emergency before letting loose a cataclysm. As one Russian said to me, using a somewhat confused metaphor, "Molotov has knocked the atom bomb on the head—if not forever, at least for a good long time."

Not that the atom bomb is as much of a bogy to the average Russian as it was once. Diplomats in Moscow hold strongly to the theory that whether the Russians have atom bombs or not, they have some formidable retaliatory weapons. The Americans speak of bacteriological warfare with some concern, and it is generally believed that jet planes, such as we saw over the Red Square on May Day, are being produced on a very large scale—already their number is estimated to run to a thousand or more.

Another reason why Russians think there will be no war is that Europe is now clearly split into two blocs, neither of which wants to make any move that will entail serious risks. Further friction may arise on some secondary question like Austria or Berlin, but in the main the map of Europe is considered to have been drawn, and accepted by both sides. While it is doubted that a real halt can be called to the "cold" or "ideological war," a de facto armistice is expected to last for some years. The Russians, of course, will continue to show interest in the French and Italian Communists, partly because they may some day enter their respective governments, and partly because they keep anti-capitalist and anti-American sentiment alive.

There have lately been numerous indications that the Soviet leaders are no longer quite so sure E. R. P. will be a failure, and that they are still less sure the great crisis of American and Western European capitalism will come in the clearly foreseeable future. High personages in the party have an uncomfortable suspicion that the party line has greatly oversimplified Western economics and that some leaders, Zhdanov and Voznesensky among them, have been too quick to denounce as heretics such economists as Professor Varga and his followers. K. V. Ostrovitianov's report to the Institute of Economics on the work of Soviet economists last year—a report completed in January, but only recently published—is one continuous complaint that most of the leading economists suffer from "objectivism," a sin as great in economics as "formalism" is in art, and have not followed the party line in discussing the systems of Britain and the United States. The report also declares that Varga, despite all the criticism of him published in *Pravda* and elsewhere, is "still refusing to eat his words."

In his book, "The Changes in Capitalist Economy as a Result of the Second World War," Varga, according to Ostrovitianov, "ignores the general crisis of capitalism and the struggle of the two systems; he divorces economics from politics; he makes the non-Marxist assertion about the 'decisive role of the state in the capitalist economy of Britain and America'; he slides over the fundamental differences between Soviet economy and capitalist economy during the war; he lacks the proper class approach to questions like the impoverishment of certain classes; he underrates the importance of the European new democracies as part of the world economy." Varga's

ALEXANDER WERTH, Moscow correspondent of The Nation *and the Manchester* Guardian, *left Russia recently for a vacation in England. This is the first of a series of uncensored articles appraising the Soviet Union. The second will deal with the improvement in living conditions.*

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retort—"Some comrades are rather mechanical in their insistence that it is 'either-or,' either planned economy or economic anarchy; that's not how it really is"—incensed Ostrovitianov still more. The latter also protests against Varga's claim that socialism has in part been accepted by British capitalists, and that the dispute is over the tempo at which it shall be established. He indignantly quotes Varga's query: "Can we really say that the working class and the Labor Party have absolutely no influence on British policy, and that policy continues to be determined by the financial oligarchy?" Ostrovitianov insists that the Labor Party's "gradual transition to socialism" is merely a swindle.

Other economists—Eventov, author of "British War Economy," Bokshitsky, author of "The Technical and Economic Changes in American Industry," and Vishnev, author of "Industry in the Capitalist Countries During the War"—are attacked for their irresponsible admiration of Western technical achievements as well as for their "objectivist approach," which means a factual and not a proper Marxist analysis. Eventov is rebuked for saying that nationalization in Britain may limit and even prevent unemployment, and for picturing American agriculture as enjoying all-round prosperity, "without pointing out the class struggle in America or differentiating between different kinds of farmers." All these errors, says Ostrovitianov, have been built into an economic system which ignores the Lenin-Stalin theory of imperialism, the class struggle, and the general crisis of capitalism. In this system, he continues, concrete description predominates over Marxist analysis, an attitude of neutrality is adopted toward bourgeois economic theories, the evaluation of bourgeois sources is uncritical, and there is much kowtowing to the achievements of bourgeois science and technical progress.

Ostrovitianov is the head of the new Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences, which replaces the old Institute of Economics and the Institute of World Economy and World Politics. Professor Varga was director of the latter. Both the disbanded institutes, Ostrovitianov charges, were guilty of the sins he enumerated in his report.

IT IS now obvious that the persistence with which these distinguished Soviet economists have clung to their views—none of them, least of all Varga, is known to have recanted—has been giving the party leaders much food for thought, especially in the light of recent world events. It is becoming increasingly apparent to them that the economy of the United States is not crumbling and that the slump may not, indeed, come for ten years. Britain and Western Europe may be "politically and economically enslaved" by the United States, but economic chaos may well be avoided for a long time. Certain practical conclusions from these reflections are apparently being drawn by the Soviet leaders: it is no use waiting any longer for the world slump before starting to trade with America; it is no use forcing the pace of the ideological war in Western Europe, since the situation is less ripe for revolution there than it was a year ago; only if E. R. P. fails should an extension of the Russian sphere of influence in Europe be considered. These considerations may well have had something to do with Molotov's recent offering of an olive branch.

It is also significant that although Varga has been frequently denounced, and his magazine, *World Economics and World Politics*, has been suppressed, he has not been entirely disgraced. The editor of *Questions of Economics*, which has taken the place of Varga's magazine, is the above-mentioned Ostrovitianov, but the assistant editor is—Varga.

So the party leaders are evidently not quite sure that Varga was wrong, and their doubts about the imminence of a capitalist collapse are already reflected, and may be increasingly reflected, in an attempt to find a *modus vivendi* with the outside world. In other words, they may modify the foreign policy of the Soviet Union for some years to come.

The Squalid Farce of Trusteeship

BY JULIUS LEWIN

Johannesburg, South Africa, July 20

THE Trusteeship Council of the United Nations is now holding its third regular session at Lake Success. Anyone who wants to retain his faith in the idea of trusteeship or his belief in its solid value should stay away from these meetings.

Trusteeship is not a new idea. It goes back to the seventeenth century when John Locke wrote of all government as a trust. A hundred years later, Edmund Burke, speaking in the House of Commons on the reform of the government of India, declared that Britain exercised a trust there and added that "it is the essence of every trust to be rendered accountable." Embodying this idea and carrying on the tradition of the mandates, the Charter of the United Nations established an international trusteeship system. Its purpose was to supervise the administration of the

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colonies formerly held by Germany and Japan, and possibly by Italy, and of any others voluntarily put under it. At its head was a Trusteeship Council.

Round the council's table sit twelve members. Six of them are administering authorities, or, more plainly, colonial powers—Britain, France, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand (the last two because they hold New Guinea and Western Samoa respectively), and the United States, which technically ranks as an administering authority by virtue of its strategic trusteeship over a number of Pacific islands. They are supposed to be confronted by an equal number of critics who have no direct or obvious interest in maintaining the colonial system. The Soviet Union, potentially the most formidable of such critics, recently took its seat for the first time, having hitherto boycotted the council. The only other permanent place is occupied by China. To fill the remaining seats, the General Assembly elected Mexico, Iraq, the Philippines, and Costa Rica. Last November, it tried repeatedly to elect Norway instead of Costa Rica, but the colonial powers were able to block this move. Norway's offense, evidently, was that one of its nationals had taken a courageous part in the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The other notable absentee is India, which consistently leads the criticism of the colonial powers in the General Assembly's fourth committee, where trusteeship matters are also debated. It is safe to predict that since the colonial powers strove so hard to keep Norway off the council, they would move heaven and earth to prevent India from obtaining the seat that is its due. Until the Soviet Union arrived, the United States in effect held the balance of power in the council.

The Trusteeship Council is no more than a forum for the discussion of certain of the more obvious elements in the colonial relationship. It controls no resources of its own and has no prospect of doing so. It is true that the charter provides it with some means of supervising the administration of the trust territories. A questionnaire may be sent to the administering authority, and one consisting of 247 pointed questions was duly dispatched last year. Discussion of the first annual reports at the current session has been perfunctory because, for one thing, the critics lack independent sources of information.

The colonial powers have not been slow to evolve various techniques for preventing effective supervision of their policies. When a spokesman of the large Ewe tribe in West Africa complained that the political boundary which divides Togoland between Great Britain and France bisected his people's ancient lands, the council praised the moderation with which the petitioner presented his case, made a few mild concessions, and promised that a mission would be sent to look into the matter further, as provided in the charter. A week later, however, the council decided that the first of its visiting missions should go, not to West Africa, where it is obviously needed, but to East Africa. And still determined to evoke from Costa Rica a reluctant interest in the Dark Continent, it made that country a member of the mission, together with France, China, and Australia. In addition, Britain shrewdly proposed as chairman a former governor of French West Africa who attends the Trusteeship Council as an alternate delegate.

Since the colonial powers have shown a profound respect for the old principle that dog does not eat dog, it seems most unlikely that, when this mission returns from its brief visit to Britain's Tanganyika and Belgium's Ruanda-Urundi, its report will be remarkable for its insight into colonial problems.

Another device of the administering authorities which enables them to do as they please is the *fait accompli*. Last year, Tanganyika, the biggest of all trust territories and the only one that could really be regarded as potentially self-governing, was firmly tied by Britain to the two neighboring colonies of Kenya and Uganda in a federal system of administration. The constitution of the new assembly which controls this federation has been skilfully designed to insure that it will be dominated by a plurality of white members. An earlier proposal to give Indians and Africans equal representation with the whites, whom they greatly outnumber, was quietly discarded after protests from the aggressive white settlers in Kenya. This federation was put into effect as of January 1, 1948, but the Trusteeship Council did not officially hear of it until it was in actual operation. Now, even if the council disapproved of it, the trend towards white supremacy in East Africa is too well established to be reversed.

As if to disown the child which they brought into the world at San Francisco, the colonial powers, supported by the United States, strongly resisted the proposal made by India at last year's General Assembly that the trusteeship system be extended to all colonies—at present it covers less than 10 per cent of the colonial peoples of the world. In the debate, the colonial powers explicitly repudiated the view that trusteeship provides "one of the surest and quickest means of attaining self-government or independence." After remarking that the colonial system was obsolete and should be abolished, John Foster Dulles quite correctly pointed out that five hundred million people in India, Burma, Ceylon, and the Philippines had in recent years attained political independence without the intervention of the trusteeship system. He did not explain how this had happened, perhaps because his argument, if pursued, might have shown that emancipation from colonial status is more often due to a native nationalist movement exerting pressure from below than to reforms granted from above. At any rate, realists must recognize that trusteeship as now practiced at Lake Success, being without teeth, causes no tears. It is in fact a noble idea which has had only squalid results.

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Schuman's Overthrow

BY BERNARD GASTON-CHERAU

"THE French political crisis could not have come at a worse time," the New York *World-Telegram* said editorially on July 21; "it interferes with a whole series of current economic, diplomatic, and military conferences of the Allies." But the editorial concluded, with a show of generosity: "Despite her present ill-timed Cabinet crisis, which is so costly to her allies, we have faith in France's ability to provide a stable democratic government."

Interference with Allied plans is a serious charge to bring against a nation that is merely exercising its democratic prerogative to disagree with its leaders from time to time and to let them know what it expects of them. However, the reproof administered by the *World-Telegram* was mitigated to some extent by the sage comment of the *Herald Tribune,* which remarked on the same day that "democracy at work is always unsettling, and a new mandate of the voters is due."

"Democracy at work is always unsettling," and the manifestations of European democracy have unsettled the plans of America no less than the vagaries of democracy in America have unsettled Europe. In the case of France, Americans are inclined to feel that "with so many parties, parliamentary instability is unavoidable"; they do not understand that many Frenchmen prefer parliamentary instability to the sterility of a hopeless stalemate between irreconcilable forces. A Cabinet crisis affords an opportunity to go to the bottom of the stalemate and to resolve it.

Such a stalemate had finally and positively been reached in the French Assembly last week. A coalition government under Premier Robert Schuman, made up of all moderate elements and excluding extremists of the right and the left, had reached the end of the long series of compromises which had made its precarious life possible—with its tenacious will to live, it had been like those invalids who seem about to die at twenty and live to be a hundred.

To all appearances the last straw was a disagreement over a small—at least, by present standards—sum of a few billion francs, which the Socialists, who precipitated the crisis, wanted to cut out of the current military appropriations and the right-wing moderates wanted to retain. Premier Schuman was willing to compromise. Normally compromise would have prevailed. But the Socialists had reached the exhaustion point of their capacity to compromise.

In a sense they were being asked to compromise their principles twice on the same issue. Once powerful, they were now divided and practically leaderless. After having been buoyed up by the near attainment of their half-century-old goal of a Socialist state, they had discovered that socialism was far harder to establish in a country impoverished by the destruction of war than in a prosperous country, in an acutely class-conscious society than in a classless society. Now, at the halfway mark of their political decline, they were asked to go back on two of their essential promises, on two of their most popular platform tenets.

Apparently they chose to leave the Cabinet because their request for a full cut of twelve billion francs in the military appropriations was refused. But they knew at the time that had they decided to accept the smaller cut of eight billion and remained in the Cabinet, they would have been obliged a few days hence to make a far greater sacrifice: they would have had to hand over to the Radical Socialist Finance Minister, René Mayer, an able and efficient administrator, the Assembly's function of supervising the nationalized industries of France, and to grant him "full powers" to take whatever steps were necessary to reduce the deficit of the nationally operated mines, factories, power plants, and transportation lines. It would have been a first step, and a significant one, away from the position reached after their triumph of only two years ago.

René Mayer was asking permission to do what Hugh Dalton in England is supposed to be doing—with one fundamental difference, however. Mr. Dalton is a left-wing Socialist, whereas René Mayer, quite apart from his affiliation with the Radical Socialists, an extremely moderate party committed to the preservation or restoration of free enterprise, is often described as "De Gaulle's man" inside the Cabinet. He has been considered an advance party of the De Gaulle forces, and it has been forecast that his program would be the start of the Gaullist program. In accepting, first, defeat on the issue of armament credits, against which they had often and loudly complained, and, second, the inevitable trimming of the nationalized industries for which they had fought, the Socialists would in effect have admitted not only that they could win no new victories but that they could not even hold the ground they had gained. A few months before the fall elections, this would have amounted to political suicide.

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The tactical issue was certainly paramount in their decision, but they were influenced also by a number of equally disturbing national circumstances. As a peace party, could the Socialists condone the virulent requests for a "show of force" against Russia, shrilly and insistently uttered on this side of the Atlantic? Could they ignore the guarded inquiries being made as to the "availability" of French arms for use in the rumored show of force? As a party committed to prosperity for the common man, could they close their eyes to the still rising cost of living, for which they could be blamed as much as their colleagues of the M. R. P.

With these and other equally fundamental issues they were confronted daily. The fact is that they were just about as happy in the Schuman Cabinet as a last New Dealer in President Truman's.

But will their desperate decision afford De Gaulle the opportunity he has been long seeking to ask for a dissolution of the Assembly? If this should happen, the responsibility of the Socialists would be great indeed. There is a growing realization that an election fought now would split France in two, and that the Third Force would disappear. Imperative appeals to join the right or left would be made to the voters, and destruction of the right by the left or the left by the right would be the ultimate goal.

Yet, one asks, will not exactly such a situation exist in the fall, when elections must be held by law? The answer is that the factor of time operates somewhat more in favor of the center than in favor of the extremes. The E. R. P. has just begun to take hold, and the average citizen of France has as yet not felt its beneficial effects; he still suffers from the economic maldistribution and is not aware of the real statistical improvement. A faster tempo of economic recovery, combined with a moderately successful harvest, will bring back that feeling of material well-being which favors solutions of reason and militates against solutions of haste.

"GENTLEMEN, I BEG YOU TO CEASE FIRING!"

[*This cartoon from* Franc-Tireur (*Paris*) *satirizes the internal dissension that led to the collapse of the Schuman Cabinet. On the left, the Minister of Health, Mme Poinso-Chapuis* (M. R. P.), *is having a battle royal with Edouard de Preux, Socialist Minister of Education. Under the table, the Armed Forces Minister, Pierre-Henri Teitgen* (M. R. P.), *is grappling with the Radical Socialist Secretary of State for Air, Henri Maroselli* (*loose suspenders*). *At the right, M. R. P. Foreign Minister Georges Bidault is rolling up his sleeves and squaring away at the Radical Socialist Finance Minister, René Mayer, behind whom lies Jules Moch, Socialist Minister for the Interior. Above the fray, Premier Robert Schuman* (M. R. P.), *stands on the table and pathetically waves a white flag of truce.*]

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E. R. P. and British Socialism

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, July

COMING as it did just after the midyear mark, the House of Commons debate on the Anglo-American agreement governing E. R. P. assistance to this country provided a useful occasion for a survey of the British economic position. After a discussion lasting two days the agreement itself was approved by a huge majority, 409 to 12, for this was one of those rare occasions when government supporters and opposition members trooped through the same lobby. The tiny minority represented what is known facetiously as the *Daily Express–Daily Worker* axis: it was made up of six Tories who follow Lord Beaverbrook's line that acceptance of E. R. P. on the terms offered is a betrayal of the empire, four Communists and fellow-travelers to whom E. R. P. represents a diabolical plot against the Soviet Union, and two left-wing Socialists who fear that it means abject surrender to American capitalism.

Such extreme views could command very little support, but the size of the majority rather obscured the fact that a good many members, including a number of Labor left-wingers, felt sufficiently uneasy about the agreement to abstain from voting. All the assurances offered by government spokesmen in the course of the debate were not enough to allay their fears that the imprecise wording of some clauses concealed possibilities of American restraints on British economic sovereignty. There is, for instance, the British pledge "to maintain a valid exchange rate." Members wanted to know just what this meant. Would it permit Washington, they asked, to insist on revaluation of sterling at some future date? And what about the undertaking to maintain a balanced budget over a period of years? Would that permit the American authorities to query particular items of British expenditure or to oppose deficit financing to combat deflation? Again, the agreement provides for communication to the United States by the British government of detailed proposals for specific projects undertaken in substantial part with E. R. P. funds. Would this enable the E. R. P. administrator to veto any such projects? Would it allow him to say to the British government: if you nationalize the steel industry, don't expect to get E. R. P. funds to buy steel-mill equipment?

Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moved approval of the agreement, and Harold Wilson, president of the Board of Trade, who replied to the debate, both insisted that all such questions could be answered in the negative and that Britain's freedom of action would in no way be restricted. The obligations that the British government had incurred, they argued, were simply to use its "best endeavors" to fulfil the objectives of the E. R. P. For the most part, said Cripps, the agreement required the continuation of policies to which Britain was already committed—the promotion of internal financial stability, the expansion of production in conformity with the plans adopted by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the prevention of restrictive practices in line with the anti-monopoly bill now before Parliament, and cooperation in a freer international exchange of goods on a multilateral basis. It was, he asserted in conclusion, "a fair and sensible document in no way interfering with our rights to regulate our own affairs." His speech made a considerable impression but did not remove all doubts. Most members agreed with him that E. R. P. was a magnificently generous conception, but some still wondered whether execution of the program—perhaps by other men than those now in charge—would be as generous and as imaginative.

Sir Stafford Cripps

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS opened his speech with a brief review of Britain's balance-of-payments position, showing that in the absence of E. R. P. a regime of super-austerity would become imperative. Britain's stock of gold and hard currencies, which, it must be emphasized, compose the reserves of the whole sterling area, had declined during the first six months of this year, he revealed, to $1,892,000,000. He expressed the hope that with E. R. P. reimbursements for American shipments already paid for, it would be possible to bring reserves back to a total of $2,000,000,000, the absolute minimum needed to safeguard the integrity of sterling when American aid is terminated. But there could be no relaxation of effort to close the gap between international receipts and payments. The drive to increase exports, particularly to the hard-currency countries, must go on, Cripps told the

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House of Commons. And the import program is once again being reviewed to discover whether further pruning is possible.

In its efforts to rectify its balance of payments Britain is rather in the position of a man rowing hard against a stiff head-wind. The volume of exports, which averaged 118 per cent of 1938 in the last quarter of 1947, reached a new high of 138 per cent in May, while the volume of imports is being held at around 80 per cent of the pre-war total. Nevertheless, in the first five months of this year the adverse balance declined only fractionally. The reason is that ever since the end of the war Britain's "terms of trade" have been growing steadily more unfavorable. In December, 1945, the index of import prices stood at 195 and that of export prices at 194 (1938 equals 100). By last April the import index had risen to 283 and the export index only to 251. In other words, more and more British manufactures must be exported to pay for the same quantity of foreign goods.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in an informal conversation I had with him soon after reaching England, spoke of this situation as one of Britain's major trade difficulties. If the terms of trade were now as favorable as in 1938, he said in effect, the problem of balancing Britain's international accounts would be largely solved.

The Chancellor went on to express the hope that food prices, at least, might decline somewhat after the current harvest. At the time we spoke, crop reports from all over Western Europe were very favorable, but since then a cold, wet June has retarded growth and necessitated some downward revision of estimates. However, there is still reason to hope that Europe will be in a position to supply a greater part of its basic foods than last year, and this fact, coupled with the recent United States forecasts of bumper wheat and corn crops, suggests that in the next twelve months essential food imports may be obtainable at a somewhat lower dollar cost. Even a 10 per cent drop in average food prices would afford real relief to Britain and a number of other Western European countries.

IN THE debate on the E. R. P. agreement the opposition front bench supported the government motion but argued that further American aid would probably have been unnecessary if the Labor Party had been less profligate. How humiliating it must be, jeered Oliver Lyttleton, the leading Tory spokesman, for a Socialist administration to be forced to underwrite its program by means of aid from a capitalist country! He suggested that the previous American loan had been largely dissipated because of the inflationary policies of the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Dalton. This criticism is not entirely baseless, as many Labor supporters will admit, but it comes with ill grace from an opposition that has seized every opportunity to arouse popular sentiment against austerity and to attack every specific dollar-saving proposal made by the government. As Labor members were quick to remind Lyttleton and his colleagues, the Tories had done their best to defeat the increase in tobacco taxes, the restriction of newsprint imports, and the reduction in gasoline rations—all measures designed to check the drain on Britain's dollar reserves.

The Tories show a similar inconsistency when they condemn government financial policy as inflationary and oppose almost every actual disinflationary step that is taken. Sir Stafford Cripps's efforts to reduce the volume of money chasing goods are beginning to show results. By budgeting for a large surplus and maintaining high taxes on non-essential consumption, he has brought about a reduction in excess purchasing power. I have been told constantly in the past few weeks that trade is slow and people increasingly unwilling to spend money. Manufacturers and distributors in certain lines—radio sets are a notable example—complain that stocks are accumulating, and some factories producing for the home market have had to curtail output.

Such signs of a returning buyers' market are evidence of improved economic health. Nevertheless, many Tory newspapers and not a few Tory politicians have been demanding a reduction in purchase taxes and other measures which serve to restrict consumption. The clamor has been such that the Chancellor has made some concessions, but in general he is maintaining his stand against inflation even though it is likely to cause temporary unemployment in a few trades. He is bound to do so if he is to keep his promise to the trade unions to hold prices down in return for a wage standstill, and to secure a transfer of labor from the non-essential industries to the undermanned factories working for export.

The Tory argument that Socialist legislation has undermined Britain's ability to be self-supporting does not stand up statistically. British industrial production today is at an all-time high and is continuing to mount steadily. Recently published United Nations figures show that it has now reached between 125 and 130 per cent of the pre-war level, which compares with 91 per cent in Belgium, 104 per cent in Holland, and 110 per cent in France. It is interesting to note that the poorest record is that of Belgium, a country which suffered less war damage than the others and one which is frequently extolled in the American press for maintaining a model free-enterprise economy. Of these four Western European nations, Britain is the one which has carried out the widest program of Socialist legislation. Yet in terms of production it has outstripped the others.

Is this purely coincidental or a matter of cause and effect? I believe it is the latter. One explanation for Britain's increasing production is the comparative absence of industrial disputes. There have, of course, been a number of strikes which have received a lot of publicity, but with one or two exceptions, such as the recent

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stoppage on the London docks, they have been small affairs which have not seriously retarded production. Compared with the three years immediately following the First World War, the time lost since 1945 through industrial disputes is almost negligible. The fact is that the trade unions have used with remarkable restraint the enhanced power that full employment affords. They have done so because there is a Labor government which has kept its election promises both in regard to the nationalization of key industries and the extension of social reform. As an editorial in the London *Tribune* of July 2, 1948, puts it:

> There is a close and inescapable connection between the maintenance of social discipline in the interest of the nation as a whole and the Socialist objectives of the government. Everyone knows that the rot in the coal industry could not have been checked without nationalization. But the same moral applies to other industries. After the 1914-18 war all or most of the pledges of social reform made by the Tory Party were broken, and this fact was one of the causes of the huge industrial upheaval which followed.

Article II of the E. R. P. agreement commits Britain:

> (a) To adopt and maintain the measures necessary to insure efficient and practical use of all the resources available to it, including . . . (b) To promote the development of industrial and agricultural production on a sound economic basis; to achieve such production targets as may be established through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

It is to be hoped that the Americans now responsible for the administration of E. R. P.—and those that may succeed them next year—will not insist on interpreting the phrase "a sound economic basis" in strict accordance with the tenets of the free-enterprise system. As I have attempted to show in this article, Britain, pursuing its own line of democratic socialism, has made and is making big strides toward the solution of its economic difficulties. The Labor government is grappling with the problem of inflation with a courage that puts a vote-seeking Republican majority in Congress to shame. Thanks to planning and to the inspiration of its Socialist program, it has achieved impressive increases in production and exports. Pressure on Britain from outside to revert to a system more favorable to private capitalism could only endanger this progress.

White Supremacy—Crisis or Plot?

BY THOMAS SANCTON

II

Pass Christian, Mississippi

THE synthetic nature of the Democratic Party's "revolt" in the South can be clearly seen in a sort of dress rehearsal for it which a group of Mississippians staged during the campaign of 1944. That revolt, like the present one, followed carefully blueprinted plans. It was in part a by-product of the war-time situation in the South.

Economic reckonings within the Southern economy were suspended but not balanced by the war. Where the New Deal had created a quota of road and building jobs in every county and allowed relief checks of $12, $15, and $18 a week to seep into rural districts accustomed to existing almost at the barter level, war spending spilled a golden flood across the country. Weekly wages, fattened by exhausting overtime labor, induced hundreds of thousands of workers to migrate from tenant farms to the large coastal shipyards or the booming war-material factories—though in the South as elsewhere the big money went to manufacturers, business men, and landowners. Occasionally a shipyard worker did, indeed, buy his wife a fur coat or a diamond ring—stories of such purchases, and of impending race riots, became an obsession with the middle class—but the average welder, factory hand, and unskilled laborer supported his old folks and a growing family in crowded temporary projects and, despite OPA, paid higher and higher prices at the grocery store. The increase in farm prices that was tied in with the general inflation gave the independent and semi-independent farmers a proportionately greater share in the war largess than the workers. At the base of the economic pyramid the largest class of all—the Negroes and landless poor whites—caught the welcome crumbs of the inflation in the form of unprecedented war wages. After the war, however, many a worker had nothing to show but a few hundred dollars in war bonds bought through the 10 per cent take-out.

In 1943 a book called "White America," the privately printed work of a self-qualified Virginia expert on race, biology, and world culture, was read with great earnestness by a number of Southern politicians. Whole pages of it, paraphrases or direct quotes, were spouted in the Senate. Its theme was vilification of the Negro as an indi-

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vidual and as a race. Its political purpose was to obstruct the vitally essential war-time Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which required that Negroes be hired in war work in numbers corresponding to their ratio to the whole population—10 per cent of the work force. The general public was unaware of the book's existence. But influential politicians gladly adopted its "philosophical" tone and used its sensational details for racist obstructionism which, during a war against Nazism, with nations "of color" as our allies, was plainly treachery to our cause. Indirectly, the book helped to freeze the wages of Negro cotton pickers in the Delta below the market price —the only instance of a roll-back of wages during the whole course of the war inflation.

IN THE fall of 1943 Mike Connor, an ex-governor of Mississippi who had sponsored the first state-imposed sales tax, and who at this period was chief of the disguised Old Guard Republicans in the Southern Democratic Party, ran once more for governor. Though he led by a large margin in the first primary, he was defeated in a second-primary upset by a New Dealish candidate, the late Tom Bailey. Roosevelt was President, and the common voters of Mississippi were still for him. Bailey, like all Mississippi politicians, actually was a reactionary, but he and Senator Bilbo, who, of all people, still spoke for the New Deal in Mississippi, convinced the voters that Bailey was a Roosevelt man. Connor was of course opposed to the New Deal.

As soon as he took office, Bailey ignored the "people's mandate"—a phrase with limited meaning in Mississippi. He loaded his administrative and advisory boards with reactionaries, among them public-relations men from the utilities and other corporations, and in general handed over the state government to the anti-Roosevelt faction he had just defeated at the polls. When Bailey died in office, he was succeeded by one of the Delta's strategically situated planters, Lieutenant Governor Fielding Wright, who has now been elected governor for his own four-year term. Governor Wright, incidentally, initiated and is the field general of the 1948 "revolt."

Bailey and his administration did nothing to keep the control of the state Democratic Committee in the hands of men representing the pro-Roosevelt majority of the voters. On the contrary, the planter-monopolist group at once took over. At a meeting in April, 1944, the state committee laid down the first ambiguous instructions to electoral voters in a scheme to "justify" a later effort to steal the entire vote of a state of two and a half million people and take it away from Roosevelt. That the state committee had become in effect an "action committee" for the National Association of Manufacturers was made even clearer when it chose a well-known corporation mouthpiece to keynote the Mississippi convention for naming delegates to the 1944 national convention.

This keynote speaker and the hand-picked Mississippi delegation attending the convention went on record—for the grim edification of Europe and Asia—as opposing universal suffrage and civil rights, a position disguised as always as defense of states' rights. In the weeks before the Presidential election of November, 1944, Mike Connor and other monopoly spokesmen intensified their anti-Negro agitation, an issue brought to the fore by the war and its stated democratic aims; at the same time the press and numerous minor figures spread irresponsible misrepresentations of gasoline rationing, price control, and the many inevitable inconveniences of the war. The general uneasiness of the white people, whose conscience is always burdened by the spectacle of outraged human dignity presented by the Negro community, developed into persistent hysteria, aggravated by the synthetic alarmism, the half-truths, and the outright lies of the group planning to steal the state's vote from Roosevelt.

When the preparatory barrage had reached its height, four of the nine designated members of the Electoral College, who by long custom had absolutely no authority of their own, announced that no matter how the people voted on Election Day, they would not cast their ballots for Roosevelt when the Electoral College assembled to perform its conventional duties. They had come to the conclusion, they said, that to cast their electoral votes for the President would be "against the best interests of the Southland." It was apparent that the other five members were only waiting to see whether the public could swallow this before they followed suit.

Such a cold-blooded rape of the democratic process was too much for even the thoroughly conditioned white-supremacy electorate. Roosevelt was commander-in-chief, and the great masses of Mississippians still revered him. By 1944 the more influential and conservative voting group had been worked on for eight years by anti-New Deal newspapers and politicians, but it was still Roosevelt's. Two weeks later, in the election, Mississippi voters repudiated the disguised Republicans of the Electoral College by a majority of fourteen to one. Meanwhile a special session of the legislature had been called to provide a second list of electors who would support the people's choice.

SINCE 1944 the forces of reaction in the South have grown stronger. The depression for a time thrust down many middle-class people and taught them how it felt to be poor; this brought about a shift in power, even in the constricted white-supremacy electorate, which made the New Deal unchallengeable. Now the war and the post-war inflation have retrieved these people for conservatism and have also brought momentary prosperity to a large class of tenants, mechanics, tradesmen, and the like, inducing in them the sense of superiority and racial separateness and the reactionary economic illu-

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sions that characterize their more affluent fellow-citizens —the merchants, oil men, planters, and industrialists. The changed situation has provided the base for an attack upon the last vestiges of the New Deal theory that there should be government regulation of the economy and government protection of everyone's constitutional rights. It has also enabled the white-supremacy élite to stage a political intrigue which to an outsider seems extremely ominous—as if it might lead to an eventual business-planter dictatorship which would proceed with the superficial trappings of legality but without reference to Supreme Court rulings and without responsibility to popular elections.

The boundless opportunism of the white-supremacy leadership becomes evident when one notes that many of the persons who condemned the 1944 revolt as soon as they saw that the public mood was not ready for it are now eagerly supporting an exactly similar attempt. Apparently they are convinced that the ineptness of the Truman Administration and the newspaper agitation of the race issue for the last four years will influence the public to go along with the "revolt" of 1948. For example, ex-Lieutenant Governor Billy Snyder of Mississippi, who in 1944 jumped in as a "loyal elector" to repudiate the "rebels," said recently, "In 1944 I thought the action ill-advised, because we had not perfected any section-wide action and could only bring down on our heads the wrath of the party. But now we have the backing of the South and are doing something we should have done thirty years ago."

What rankles in the minds of Southern party chiefs today, adding a sense of personal aggrievement to their primary craving for power, is that they thought Harry Truman was "in the bag" for counseling and manipulation by Southern Democrats. After all, he owed his job to them. With two Mississippians like James K. Vardaman, Jr., and George E. Allen (who left the government last year), men born and bred to the white-supremacy élite, among the President's closest associates, it has astounded the Southern party leadership to find Truman giving segregation the unambiguous White House condemnation which they have managed to forestall since the time of Andrew Johnson. They have not hesitated to ascribe the President's action to purely political motives —which, indeed, may well be the case.

Leaders of the 1948 "revolt" as it has worked out in Mississippi—now become a sort of political pilot plant for the big corporations—are attempting to convince the electorate that the revolt is a grass-roots affair. They want to head off the popular outcry that stopped the

Howard Cook

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electoral steal four years ago. The press of Mississippi on the whole is cooperating and is trying to prevent the people from realizing that in the end the N. A. M. and the elements of the Republican Party which represent it will have a strangle-hold on the state.

The precinct meetings held in Mississippi on May 18 for the ostensible purpose of providing an expression of the popular will on the civil-rights issue were farcical. In one county ten of the twenty-two precincts did not even hold a meeting, but the county nevertheless will be represented at the state convention as "100 per cent unanimous" in favor of "Southern traditions." Its 40,000 inhabitants, most of whom had no idea that a decision was being taken in their name, will be counted as solidly supporting a move to assure the election of a Republican President.

When the States' Rights Democratic Campaign Committee, meeting at Jackson, Mississippi, on June 8, decided to offer its own candidate for President at the Birmingham, Alabama, convention on July 17 if President Truman was the national party's nominee, a Texas committeeman said: "Our conception of the national party is that it is not a federal body but a confederation of state parties, and each state is the judge of what course its party should follow. If the Birmingham conference is necessary, it would not be a third party or a bolt. It would merely suggest a man for President and Vice-President. The support of those men would be a matter to be left up to the individual states." This maneuver is shrewdly calculated to by-pass such a situation as arose in Texas in 1944, when the state Supreme Court decided that the Texas members of the Electoral College must follow the popular election returns in their state.

In spite of the strength of the present reaction against New Deal principles and practices, the old distrust of corporation lawyers and lobbies is still strong among the poor people of the South. Here and there, in Mississippi as in other states, there is evidence that the masses are only waiting for young, fresh leadership with the courage and intelligence to organize a drive against the feudal hierarchies and to force the basic economic adjustments that were blocked in the confused Reconstruction period. If more of the poor people could vote, the story in the South today might be quite different. In Alabama it is reported that there are stirrings of the old Populist movement beneath the hardening reaction at the top. In Georgia a Baptist preacher, Joseph Rabun, who lost his pastorate for opposing segregation, is winning impressive support in his campaign for the governorship; and as a heritage of the liberal Arnall administration approximately 10,000 Georgia Negroes are now enfranchised. Louisiana and Florida have shown the least interest in the synthetic "revolt" against the Democratic Party.

Not long ago I talked in the Mississippi state capital to an old party official who expressed the opinion that if a native Mississippian of talent could gather up a few sound trucks and a moderate campaign fund he could make an effective progressive campaign, advocating abolition of the poll tax and even enfranchisement of qualified Negroes, and "bust this thing wide open." By "this thing" he meant the political and economic racket of White Supremacy, Inc. True to his religious background, he quoted the Scriptures: "The field is ripe unto harvest, but the laborers are few."

MRA: the "World-arching Ideology"

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, July 14

WITH klieg lights blazing and trumpets blaring 200 delegates from twenty-three countries recently gathered at Los Angeles for the Tenth World Assembly of Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman's Moral Rearmament movement. In Hollywood Bowl 15,000 persons with free passes witnessed a performance of the MRA musical revue, "The Good Road," while a nation-wide radio audience heard Dr. Buchman expound his new thesis: "Only a superior world-arching ideology can cure a world divided by warring ideologies."

The Japanese delegation, headed by Kensuke Horinouchi, former ambassador to the United States, and including Viscount and Viscountess Yasutane, Mr. Tsuruhara, a director of the Bank of Japan, and Takasumi Mitsui of the well-known Mitsui family, came with the personal blessings of General Douglas MacArthur. General Lucius D. Clay sent ten persons from the American zone in Germany, among whom were Dr. Gustav Heinemann, Mayor of Essen; Dr. Irwin Stein, Minister of Education for Hesse; Dr. Michael Horlacher, president of the Bavarian Parliament; and the Baroness Elizabeth Guttenberg, president of the Catholic Women's Relief Committee of Munich. A few trade unionists and ex-Communists were lost among such titled personages as Lord Hardinge of Penhurst, Sir Charles and Lady Mander, the Count and Countess Carlo di Castiglione, Sir Alexander and Lady Hood, the Bishop of Rangoon, Baroness Stephanie Eyrl of Bolzano, and General Pierre de Benouville, one of De Gaulle's political lieutenants. There were also bankers, industrialists, "statesmen" like Dr. George M. Dimitrov of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party,

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educators, feminists, dowagers, tennis players, admirals, generals, corporation lawyers, personnel managers, and reformed sinners from the forty-eight states.

THE theme sounded at conference sessions, at well-organized press conferences, and at meetings sponsored by various organizations throughout Southern California was the "menace of communism." Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of the Economic Cooperation Act, in a message to the assembly made a suggestion which was immediately taken up and repeated—namely, that MRA is "the ideological counterpart of the Marshall Plan." (After the Los Angeles meeting some of the delegates visited Washington and Mr. Hoffman gave a luncheon for them which was attended by Secretary Marshall. John R. Steelman is said to have arranged a large reception for them, and a visit to the White House was planned.)

Clasping the little black notebooks in which they jot down their "two-way radio chats with God," the delegates took over the Mission Inn at Riverside for a week. They held morning and evening sessions in the inn chapel, where well-trained choral groups sang such favorite MRA ditties as "Sorry Is a Magic Little Word." It was there that I met Jackie Scott, a young man whose sinful pre-MRA existence and post-conversion activities have been dramatized in a stirring playlet entitled "Out of the Frying Pan into the Fight," featuring the characters Sad Apple, Handsome Hunk of Heaven, Brain Trust, and Smooth Operator. An engaging ex-sinner, Jackie told me of the wonderful reception given the MRA "groupers" in Jackson, Mississippi, by both houses of the legislature. From Jackie also I learned how simple and easy it is to live by the four moral standards of MRA—absolute purity, absolute honesty, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love. At the same session I met and chatted with Brigadier General W. G. Beeman, D. S. O., Colonel Mark Vernon of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Admiral Yngve Ekstrand, a commander in the Royal Swedish Navy, and Baron Karwinsky of Austria.

I must confess that I was most intrigued by the charming Austrian baron, who had been State Secretary of Security in the Dollfuss regime and later Minister of Justice under Schuschnigg. It had been his unpleasant duty, he told me, to arrest the Socialist leaders during "the unfortunate disturbances in 1934." When I asked if it were true that anti-Semitism still smoldered in Austria, the Baron pointed out that he could hardly be accused of being anti-Semitic since some of his favorite relatives were Jews; but, he went on to say, it was unfortunately true that some of the Jews who had come into Austria since the war had aroused general resentment by their activities in the black market.

The current world assembly represents Dr. Buchman's second attempt to establish MRA in the United States, and it is quite apparent that this time he has succeeded. Obviously these are "flush times" for MRA. It cost a pretty penny to bring these 200 delegates from the four corners of the globe and to maintain them at the Mission Inn for a week. Moreover, from "anonymous sources" Dr. Buchman recently obtained $528,000 to buy the Westminster Theater in London, $250,000 to buy the sumptuous 700-room Palace Hotel in Caux, high above Lake Geneva, now operated by MRA as a permanent hostel, and $500,000 to acquire the Woman's Athletic Club in Los Angeles as permanent headquarters. A recent assembly at Caux drew more than 5,000 persons, including twenty-six members of the Italian Parliament, 1,000 Catholics—thirty priests were among them, and the Cardinal of Belgium sent an official greeting—and 150 Germans from the American zone. MRA also maintains an international training center on Mackinac Island in Michigan. Yet there are no dues, and no admission to meetings is charged.

DR. BUCHMAN'S earlier attempt to invade the United States was badly timed, for public opinion was then crystallizing against the appeasement policies which he had advocated in Great Britain. After an unsuccessful "rally" at Madison Square Garden in the spring of 1939, he tried Washington, but despite indorsements from Senators, Representatives, and Cabinet officers, and a word of greeting from President Roosevelt, the movement still failed to strike fire. Apparently Dr. Buchman then realized that he had been attempting to launch MRA on the wrong coast. Chartering a twenty-two-car special train, he brought the thousand members of his road show to Los Angeles, and in August, 1939, 30,000 people poured into Hollywood Bowl to witness "a preview of the new world order." Elsewhere the charge of "appeasement" had stymied Dr. Buchman, but had it not been for the outbreak of World War II, the MRA movement would have become well established in California. During the war years MRA concentrated on industrial relations, producing a drama called "The Forgotten Factor" which Dr. John R. Steelman termed "the most effective single force in the country for creating industrial teamwork."

Someone has described MRA as the middle-class substitute for the camp meeting. It is certainly a crisis phenomenon which reached the peak of its pre-war influence in the wake of Munich. The development of a new world crisis is therefore perhaps the simplest explanation for its gorgeous rebirth. The 200 delegates who descended on Los Angeles and Riverside formed what might be called the country-club anti-Communist international. Panayotis Kanellopoulos, leader of Greece's National Union Party and former Prime Minister, told them that the recent mass executions in

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Greece were justified—presumably in the name of Absolute Love—and asserted that George Polk, the American correspondent, was murdered by "Communist guerrillas." Dr. Chen Li-fu, Vice-President of the Chinese Yuan, said MRA was substantially the same as the New Life movement of Chiang Kai-shek. Dr. Erwin Stein, Minister of Education for Hesse, declared that German morale is high "because we now believe that United States policy in Europe has hardened." Fausto Pecorari, former Vice-President of Trieste, a Catholic, and Umberto Colosso, editor of *Umanità* and secretary of the Saragat Socialist Party, announced that on returning to Italy they would ask the Italian Parliament to take a moment of MRA "silence" before voting on crucial issues. Japan has now joined the family of democratic, peace-loving nations, according to Kensuke Horinouchi; and Sir Charles Mander, the British industrialist, described MRA as "the new look" in industrial relations. All the speakers laid great stress on supporting the fight against communism by strengthening the rightist forces in China, Greece, Italy, France, Germany, and Japan. MRA has apparently cut loose from whatever pacifist moorings it once had. Most of the delegates discussed the possibility of war between the United States and the U. S. S. R. with a matter-of-factness bordering on complacency, and the Swedish admiral told me he had found the MRA ideology invaluable as a morale-builder for conscript armies.

TWO aspects of the reborn MRA movement baffle any attempt at analysis—the mechanics of its cohesiveness and the content of the new overarching ideology which is to save the "democracies" of Chiang Kai-shek and Tsaldaris. Since MRA is an "organism" and not an organization, it is impossible "to belong to or join or resign from" the movement. Although it has no officers and holds no elections, MRA can and obviously does accept contributions. As Stanley High observed some years ago, MRA is as much a one-man show as National Socialism was under Hitler. The "groupers" see no objection to such a set-up, since the decisions are not really made by Dr. Buchman but by God. To try to obtain the facts about how this far-flung million-dollar organism functions is, I discovered, quite hopeless.

Its overarching ideology is as vague and indeterminate as its structure. Dr. Buchman has made it clear that he is opposed to "programs" of any kind, though his movement does contain the shadow of one in that it seeks to unite the forces of the right by drawing together "top leaders" around a firmly stated "anti-Communist" position. The absence of a program really amounts to support for the status quo. Dr. Buchman might now be called an apostle of appeasement-in-reverse, rallying opinion against communism by appeasing the forces of reaction throughout the world.

I was told that Los Angeles has been selected as the new world headquarters for the movement because MRA has "so many friends" in Southern California—certainly the region's well-known additional to cults makes this credible. Governor Earl Warren, twenty United States Senators, and sixty-two Representatives sent greetings to the recent assembly. Service clubs, group forums, and town meetings obligingly provided platforms for MRA spokesmen. The press was cooperative. The Catholic church entertained the Catholic delegates. The A. F. of L. arranged a luncheon meeting at which MRA speakers described the movement's contribution to industrial relations. The motion-picture industry, through the good offices of Mrs. Ida Koverman, took the delegates on a tour of M-G-M studios.

MRA ideology, I was told, is being picked up by industry and used in its public relations. As a sample of this borrowing I was shown a copy of an advertisement which Warner and Swasey, a machine-tool firm of Cleveland, Ohio, ran in the *United States News* of June 11:

> We have tried everything else in America, and they have all failed—labor contracts, new laws by the score, price controls. We have tried everything else except conscience.
>
> What if the still, small voice of conscience induced workmen to produce more before they demanded higher wages?
>
> What if the still, small voice of conscience induced manufacturers to deliver more and more value, constantly?
>
> What if the still, small voice of conscience induced government officials to decide every act only on what is best for America, instead of what is best for me?
>
> Then there would be no ruinous prices, there would be no international problem, there would be no fear.
>
> America would be strong again.
>
> Is it too much to hope? The only alternative is destruction. It begins with you and me. We have had greed and quarrels and failures . . . Can't we have—"after the fire, a still, small voice"?

The reappearance of MRA is perhaps not an altogether insignificant harbinger of dark days ahead. The idea of salvation through grace, though MRA debases it beyond recognition, makes a powerful appeal to thousands of well-meaning, confused, and fear-ridden people. Once they have been induced to accept this profoundly religious idea in its vulgarized form, they fail to see that their emotions are being manipulated to serve a set of deliberately undefined but perfectly clear objectives. Blessed by Greek rightists, former followers of Dollfuss, De Gaullists, representatives of the Zaibatzu, spokesmen for Chiang Kai-shek, and sixty-two of the least enlightened members of the Eightieth Congress, MRA is likely to become an important international "rally" of reaction.

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Del Vayo—Perón Has Not Changed

IN FEBRUARY, 1946, the Nation Associates presented a memorandum to the General Assembly of the United Nations which revealed that a typically fascist regime existed in the Western Hemisphere—the government of Generals Farrell and Perón in Argentina. A few days later, the United States government published the famous Blue Book, based on documents seized in Europe and on facts collected in various American countries. The Blue Book proved (a) that the military group headed by Perón had given various kinds of aid to Hitler's Germany and its agents in America; and (b) that Argentina was being made into a totalitarian state which aspired to extend its influence throughout Latin America. This picture of Perón was drawn, not by a "premature anti-fascist" who saw fascists even in the reflection of the moon on the sea, but by the State Department.

Two and a half years have passed, and time has confirmed the validity of the indictment. Perón's totalitarian regime has consolidated itself. Only the State Department's policy has changed. Because every possible ally is needed in the cold war against Russia, its charges against Perón have been shelved, along with the testimony of Lord Templewood, British ambassador in Madrid, about Franco's conduct during the Second World War. The American ambassador in Buenos Aires, James Bruce, recently called the Argentine dictator "a great leader."

Every gesture of Perón's shows where he stands. He has just conferred the Order of the Liberator—created a few months ago in honor of the hero of Argentine independence, General San Martín—on three ineffable exponents of totalitarianism: Franco, Trujillo, and Moriñigo. Confident of his ability to fool the Allied ambassadors, or possibly with their connivance, he has presented imaginary lists of Nazi agents whom he claims to have rounded up, while in reality he has opened the doors of his country to the fascists of the whole world. Nazi Germans are being transported to Argentina by means of a well-oiled machine whose main cogs are in New York. The sentimental desire of Americans to help the "poor" Germans, regardless of their political ideas, is exploited to get Nazis out of the western zone and send them by various channels to Argentina.

Two men known as German agents during the war, Freude and Staudt, operate publicly in Argentina, and the son of Freude is in Perón's secretariat. Italian Fascists publish a magazine in Buenos Aires, *Risorgimento,* in which the memory of Mussolini is exalted and the memory of President Roosevelt is blackened. Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of the founder of the Falange, and José María Pemán, poet laureate of the Franco regime, are lecturing in Argentina under the auspices of the First Lady, who has herself become a writer; a column—Eva Perón Says—appears now in her daily, *Democracia*—a most amusing name for that particular newspaper. Vittorio Mussolini and his wife live in Argentina, and the arrival of Edda Ciano is expected soon. Native fascists have been rewarded for their anti-Allied and anti-United States activities; the famous pro-Nazi preacher, Father Virgilio Filippo, is now a deputy in the National Congress, elected on the ticket of the Peronista Party.

The press and the radio are muzzled. Some newspapers—*La Vanguardia* (Socialist), the *Provincias Unidas* (Radical), *El Hombre Libre* (Progressive-Democratic), and *Argentina Libre* (independent)—have been closed by the police. Against the largest paper in Buenos Aires, *La Prensa,* the government has proceeded in a more subtle manner, causing it all sorts of difficulties in procuring the necessary newsprint.

As to radio, the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters, which includes all the private broadcasters of North and South America, ended its recent meeting in Buenos Aires in an uproar. Overriding the protests of the Argentine broadcasters, who serve the government and are financed by it, the conference adopted by a large majority a resolution declaring that "liberty of expression for radio does not exist in Argentina." The resolution was signed by the representatives of the United States, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay, Chile, and ten other countries, and it will be difficult for even such an audacious controversialist as Dr. José Arce, Argentine delegate to the United Nations, to present all these broadcasters as the voice of red propaganda against the concepts for which Dr. Arce is the aggressive and prolific spokesman.

Not the World Federation of Trade Unions, in which some people may sense the diabolical influence of Lombardo Toledano, but the anti-Russian American Federation of Labor has declared that the Argentine labor movement is being destroyed by the government. After a brief period of demagogic propaganda designed to get votes, propaganda eulogizing Perón as the father of Argentine labor and Perón's young and beautiful wife as its *mamá,* trade unionists have been imprisoned and tortured by the police.

In international politics, Perón continues to follow a double line. He offers himself to the United States as an ally in case of war against Russia, knowing that in return he will get the green light to apply "democracy" in Argentina in his own fashion. At the same time, he prepares his positions so that if the situation changes, he can return to his former line and defy the United States, playing out his ambitious role of leader of the Western Hemisphere. The Franco-Perón pact accords with both policies. From a purely economic point of view, the pact is less sensational than the propaganda of the two directors had led one to expect. The treaty of 1946 furnished Spain with Argentine credits of 350,000,000 pesos; the sum has now been increased to 1,500,000,000 pesos. For Spain, it is an intolerable deal, since France has given Argentina a mortgage on various Spanish ports, among them the important city of Cadiz. The pact is the reply of the two dictators to their exclusion from the Marshall Plan. It was celebrated in Madrid by street crowds shouting "Franco! Perón!" and "Down with the United States."

In my next article I will show how Argentine fascism exerts its influence on the rest of the hemisphere.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Very Late Waugh

THE LOVED ONE. By Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

FOR all its edge and determined brightness, "The Loved One" is mildly boring, differing from Waugh's other recent work only in that, to paraphrase Dr. Johnson, it is boring in a new way. "Put Out More Flags" showed the bright young people of the early Waugh disintegrating into characters who devoted themselves to the war effort; "Brideshead Revisited" was a mishmash of the early manner, a vague Catholicism, and romance of a sort popular in lending libraries. On the surface this novel looks like a return to the horrendous comedy of "Vile Bodies" and "Decline and Fall," surely two of the finest satirical novels of our time, in which uplift, religion, romance, and personal animus do not dissipate the satiric intention. On closer observation this picture of American burial practices as exemplified in the pageantry of Forest Lawn Cemetery in Hollywood, this twentieth-century "American Notes," is as monstrous as its object.

"The Loved One" is founded on a new confusion. Consistent venom does not give it unity. The subtitle, "An Anglo-American Tragedy," is clearly meant in irony, but there are signs that Waugh does think of his tale as tragic. Yet in the brash warning to the reader he speaks of it as "a little nightmare." He can never quite decide whether he is aiming for tragedy or nightmare; and although his gifts for nightmare are great, he shows, in this novel, none for tragedy—largely because he betrays no love for or joy in his characters. He hates them all impartially: his Hollywood Englishmen who in the land of the barbarian are intent on keeping up the imperial and genteel tradition; his Aimée Thanatogenos, purely indigenous to Los Angeles, who takes an artist's pride in her work as cosmetician at Whispering Glades, the mammoth burial establishment, and who is, ultimately, the victim of the practices she adores; his Mr. Joyboy, the senior mortician, an Englishman's conception of Babbitt; and even his English poet who loses caste by going to work in a mortuary for dogs. Further, he hates the place he writes about and everything that happens in it—an understandable response—except that the hate pours out in uncontrolled retching, so that even the writing is often downright sloppy. The macabre and the grisly are heaped on one another; the account of the burial of a Sealyham from Bel Air early in the book has force; but any capacity for response has been exhausted when, in the last scene, the poet incinerates his beloved, Aimée, in the dog mortuary. The characters in "Vile Bodies" were no better, but they were not simply creations of hate. Their actions added up to a nightmare of hysteria. The world in which they occurred was anarchic. But in the hysteria and anarchy there was implicit a moral view on the author's part which gave the satire meaning. Here there are only anarchy and hatred, with finally no real satire, to which, as anyone who has ever lived in it knows, the milieu of "The Loved

THE LOUSE

Robert Hooke, "Micrographia," 1665

This is a creature of extreme impertinence
Who tramples heedless on the quality;
A saucy beast without the shadow of pretense,
He sucks our blood from mere frivolity.

The public head that wears a crown
Cannot be reached for easy scratching,
So preference for such is shown
Where eggs lie safe until their hatching.

Beneath the microscopic light
His fringed bulb eyes look back;
Perhaps he's short of good foresight
But does not suffer from the lack.

Observe the plate, engraved with care,
With louse displayed as large as cat,
Bristled with elephantine hair,
His smugness increased with his fat.

Grown to the largeness of a lion, the mole
Would range around like Genghis Khan:
The systems of the louse, *systole* and *diastole,*
Would make an empty shell of every man.

The polished lens made man less sure
That he was chosen of the universe;
Until that time he'd felt secure
But suddenly god's humour seemed perverse—

Perfection wasted on a parasite!
The grave preachers trembled in their thought,
But cheered, all would come right
When the last fire brought the world to naught.

Persistent in his naughtiness the louse
In the dean's broad wig set up a bawdy house.

(The mole the size of a lion occurs in the Reverend J. G. Wood's "Homes Without Hands," 1865.)

RUTHVEN TODD

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One" is curiously suited. Waugh has employed on it only a venomous dexterity.

This novel brings up sharply the whole subject of hate in literature and its debilitating effect on the creative intelligence. To compare it with Christopher Isherwood's "Prater Violet," which, among other things, is a satirical account of the English motion-picture industry, is to clarify Waugh's failure. Ultimately Isherwood dislikes his subject quite as much as Waugh does. His picture is more devastating because he is everywhere in control. His comprehension of what he is writing about is complete. In "The Loved One" there is no comprehension or control, only a calculated series of shocks.

ERNEST JONES

As in a Defense

DIVORCE WON'T HELP. By Edmund Bergler, M.D. Harper and Brothers. $3.

DIVORCE won't help," says Dr. Bergler, a psychoanalyst of the Alt Wien school. "Nothing but death or a psychiatric-psychoanalytic cure can change that pattern." Marriage will help, though, if it is achieved through a process which had best, to avoid misunderstanding, be called "Berglerian." (One remembers that Freud himself had a certain difficulty in embracing every Freudianism as his own.) This kind of marriage is based on love—tender or romantic—defined as "an attempt on the part of the tortured unconscious Ego to escape the constant barrage of inner reproaches hurled at it by the Superego. This is accomplished . . . by wresting the instrument of torture [the Ego-Ideal] from the torturer [the Superego] and projecting it onto a love-object. . . . Up against the frenzy of happy love the demonic Superego is helpless—it has nothing to put its teeth into. . . ."

"Are you serious?" demanded the patient [Chap. V. Neurotics Can't Love]. "You impressed me as being so intelligent."

I laughed. "That's exactly what a professor of medicine told me twenty-one years ago . . . when I [confessed an interest in psychoanalysis]."

"I don't object to your profession," my patient said, "but I dislike that twaddle about romantic love."

"I can prove to you clinically that the normal person is capable of romantic love out of *inner necessity.*"

"Really?"

"Really. You see, *tender love is one of the most powerful antidotes we have against inner feelings of guilt.* And you cannot deny that everybody wants to get rid of those."

"My God, are you serious? . . ."

"Perhaps you have forgotten your Scriptures. In John IV:18 you can read, 'There is no fear in love. . . .'" [etc., etc.].

After a few seconds of silence the patient said . . . , "Tell me more about . . . that miracle man, the 'normal person.'"

We laughed. "Do you remember Voltaire's statement: 'A witty saying proves nothing'?"

Of the many "resistance" battles quoted, this one is by far the most exciting. The patient, a determined antiromantic, has logic, force, consistency on his side; we think at moments that he may even win. But against these sheerly human weapons the Doctor has the whole supernatural weight of authority: he can lose every point in logic or morality and still win. Caught fairly on "What's the difference, then, between 'normal' and 'neurotic'?" he counters, "What's the difference between winner and loser?" What, indeed? Besides, he's got two clinchers left: "Your very presence on the analyst's couch proves you wrong" and (variant) "You overlook . . . your potency-disturbance—your reason for entering treatment."

Other crushers: "You need treatment."—"But why?"—"Your whole approach is neurotic."—"I can't see that."—"Why should you? It's part of your sickness."

And still this patient fights. "It took him a long time to reconcile himself," but "he was finally cured." All Dr. Bergler's patients are cured, except one who got away, "continued to resist," and "stayed neurotic."

And what of the cure? In the last chapter, auspiciously entitled The Case for Monogamy, we discover that "frenzy of happy love" by which the demonic Superego gets its teeth pulled. Meanwhile, in Sex and Sexability, noting that many neurotics enjoy sex only when it is extra-marital or "forbidden," the author notes also that the "first person before Freud" who "dimly suspected" this "was a poet, Heinrich Heine." To our natural question how a poet could achieve such insight, the answer is: "Heine was a psychic masochist of the first order. As in a defense, he had a good understanding of aggression."

Clearly divorce won't help. But, as in a defense, why marriage—why Monogamy with Tender Love? Because to the cured or normal, as opposed to the neurotic, sex "tastes better when combined with tender love." And a taste for monogamy is inescapable in our culture—therefore good—because "in the typical family . . . the child is confronted with *one* father and *one* mother." This fact cannot be denied. However, Minimum Requirements for a Good Wife include some feminist originalities of a most un-Freudian sort. "There must be in every good wife . . . an inner acceptance" of the fact that "her husband is inwardly a little boy, who must not be taken too seriously." But while "the real power in marriage . . . is the wife," she *must*

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A NEW DIRECTIONS BOOK

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preserve appearances, since obviously "man's narcissism is his weakest point." And "what does the woman get out of the deal?" She gets "the repetition of a great deal of infantile pleasure . . . directly through being officially 'the baby' and indirectly through identification with her infantile husband." But "what about the woman who cannot manage her husband"? She is a "neurotic who gets what she unconsciously asks for. . . . Why did her instinct not prevent her from tying herself to such a man?"

Feminine readers must now ask themselves: Do we *want* the men to know what fools we make of them? What will happen to our "real power" if the psychoanalysts begin exposing it as the ideal state of things, to be known as "tender love" and achieved at great expense of *Angst* and money on the psychoanalytic couch? Dr. Bergler, who anticipates a future of great marital clinics when "the psychiatrist's service will be taken for granted in the same way that the dentist's is today," may even be defeating his purpose by writing too many books (this is his sixth). For $3 a wife can stay home and feel even more tenderly toward her great infantile boob of a husband than she does already.

However, the men still have much to learn, if little to gain, by treatment. What happens if the Superego does not lose its teeth and we do not learn to love each other tenderly? The operations of this monster become incredible, indescribable: "there are no words" for it, but "imagine Hitler's relation to an inmate of one of his concentration camps and you have an approximate idea. . . ."

It seems the trouble with simplifications is that they lack any simplicity of logic, fact, or myth. Compare Freud's breath-taking vision—the tragic battle of Id and Superego, the hero Ego struggling toward the light, the primeval clash of instinct and society. Compare too his ironic subtleties, the always tentative idea, his delicacy toward people. In that sense this book is pure Berglerian. But is it typical enough of other Freudians to deserve the name at all? Impossible to judge; his colleagues must decide. A treatment which cannot be defended by any logic or morality is defensible only by appeal to orthodoxy: ends justify means. This is particularly specious here, since by their own logic—if treatment is the "only" road to cure—then cure cannot transcend treatment: the treatment *is* the cure. Ask yourself if a patient can transcend the value-system of his analyst and hope to be called "cured."

Maybe it is time we asked ourselves: Do we really want this cure, or don't we? If not, here are some suggestions:

The next time your analyst pulls the one about professors of medicine, look him in the eye and say, "Pretty defensive, aren't you, Doc? You can stop worrying about that old Vienna school tie. Analysis, worse luck, is here to stay." If he tries to laugh that off ("I laughed. We laughed"), remind him that giggling is a bad sign of emotional insecurity. Probably he just needs a little more analysis. Ask him how much he's had, how long ago, with whom, and whether he is cured. If so, how does he know? Ask him to prove it. If he dodges this by bringing up your impotence (frigidity, etc.) again, you are in a position to say, "Watch that negative counter-transference, doctor. You're full of hostility today." If he tells you your "psychic elasticity was exhausted at the age of five" and there is "nothing but death or the cure" for you, ask him why he doesn't read Freud, page—oh, well, any page will do. There are any number of defenses we can use—provided only we get rid of that tiresome logic and morality of ours.

MARJORIE FARBER

Hypnosis Today

MODERN HYPNOSIS. Edited and Compiled by Lesley Kuhn and Salvatore Russo. Psychological Library Publishers. $5.

THE study of disturbances of the will has always been clouded by taboos and superstitions. Most of us feel that the "free human will" is a fiction. But most of us at the same time seem to be afraid of wider knowledge in this dangerous realm. It is almost a scientific scandal that the phenomenon of hypnosis has been left for centuries to charlatans and has been so much discredited that many reputable scientists do not dare touch it. The editors of this book have had the excellent idea of collecting sixteen articles published in the last fifteen years by psychologists and physicians. By this method we receive a reliable initiation into the latest advances in hypnosis as well as the still unsolved problems of its mechanism, and learn of its many valuable contributions to the study of social behavior, psychology, and medicine.

The editors recognize that their compilation is not in any sense a complete account of the present state of hypnosis—all contributions are by American scholars, the extensive European literature being only casually mentioned. However, the articles are representative of the work done lately and are well supplemented by explanatory notes. There is a good bibliography. The book can be highly recommended to intelligent people who are looking for serious, reliable information on hypnosis.

MARTIN GUMPERT

Race Relations in America

THE WALLS CAME TUMBLING DOWN. By Mary White Ovington. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

ALL MANNER OF MEN. By Malcolm Ross. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.50.

TO BE FREE. By Herbert Aptheker. International Publishers. $3.

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM. By John Hope Franklin. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

IT IS sometimes difficult to see the forest for the trees. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more clearly demonstrated than in our so-called Negro problem, which is so closely interwoven with the texture of American life that even during periods of relative progress any real orientation seems next to impossible. The situation rapidly changes color and contour; viewed from one angle our racial manners may seem to have improved, but from another it would be as easy to claim that the improvement has been so slow and minute that what appears to be progress is actually an illusion. In all the welter of good books which have been written during the past few years it is hard to find any single one which has attempted, either directly or by inference, to show how far it is that we have come and how much farther we have yet to go, to measure against the present the whole past history of the Negro in the Western Hemi-

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sphere. But these four books together provide something of a balance sheet.

"The Walls Came Tumbling Down" presents an amazingly clear picture of how far we have come in forty odd years. What was daring or troublesome in Miss Ovington's early years in interracial work no longer seems so today; mixed dinners in New York are not likely to bring forth a blast of newspaper editorials, nor is one likely to be put out of a Manhattan apartment if Negro friends should happen to come calling. Even the South, which Miss Ovington visited for the first time in 1904, has become less bigoted, though the process has been so slow that without such a measuring stick as her experience we are likely to overlook it.

Miss Ovington's book is the record of a life rich in human contacts and in public service; but it is far more than that. So far as I know it is also the only record available to the lay reader of the history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its pioneer work in legally challenging racial discrimination. That history is traced from the Niagra movement, a meeting of Negroes called by W. E. B. DuBois in protest against the policies advocated by Booker T. Washington, to the actual founding of the N. A. A. C. P., an interracial group instigated by white liberals and, in the formative years, staffed by them as well. Here too is the story of how the National Urban League became a separate entity because its program of finding job opportunities for the Negroes who were flocking North to urban centers did not fall within the more rigid scope of the N. A. A. C. P.

The record of race relations in America is, among other things, rich in good intentions—and in examples of the difficulties involved in implementing them. The sad story of the Fair Employment Practices Commission is a case in point. That story has been told in outline in the pages of the liberal press; it is also, I fear, written in the firing of Negroes and of members of other minorities, which have occurred since the FEPC'S appropriations were cut to a point where it could no longer function. Malcolm Ross, its third chairman, has given us a full account of the FEPC in "All Manner of Men." But he also investigates the history of economic discrimination in this country. And, given this context, the reader is struck not by the fact that the FEPC was able to do less than we had hoped for, but that it accomplished anything at all. With no authority to enforce its directive, with a budget too niggardly to provide an adequate field staff, and with a Congress that was, to say the least, lethargic, progress nevertheless was made. It was slow and there were defeats; yet during the short time the FEPC was in operation, it actually did make inroads against restrictive employment. Mr. Ross writes without rancor and with an insight that takes his book out of the category of mere reporting.

To understand the present it is well to have knowledge, accurate knowledge, of the past. The story of slavery and of the war to stamp it out, of Reconstruction and its ultimate betrayal, has too often been slyly distorted in our history texts. The historians have frequently told us, for instance, that the slave was, if not docile and contented, at least too lethargic to strike for freedom or, once it was granted, unable to reason out what it was that he really wanted. Herbert Aptheker explored the stirrings toward freedom within the Negro masses in his comprehensive "American Slave Revolts" of a few years ago; in his new book he fills in a smaller canvas. It is a series of studies of incidents beginning with the guerrilla slave actions of the early years of the Civil War and concluding with an account of the seldom mentioned Charles Caldwell, radical Negro leader and militant Reconstruction Senator from Mississippi.

I imagine that some historians will accuse Aptheker of claiming too much, but I doubt that anyone will be able to rule him out completely. Unquestionably there was among slaves a mass feeling for freedom—which would have been more in evidence had not the slavocracy combated it so ruthlessly; and after Emancipation many Negroes

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The AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

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knew what they wanted and gave voice to their opinions. The fact that these demands were not achieved, that leadership was often inadequate, and that intimidation was the order of the day does not prove that the freed Negro lacked a program or the will to carry it out. Aptheker has dug deeply into almost unexplored ground, and some day the historians will have to recognize his contribution, however contrary to their own beliefs his data may run.

If "To Be Free" is almost dogmatically single in purpose, "From Slavery to Freedom" is an ambitious project. John Hope Franklin, a professor at Howard University, has set out to write a history of Negro Americans, and to do so has given to his study the scope necessary for proper perspective. It begins with a reconstruction of the Africa from which the first slaves came, showing that although it might not have had the same kind of culture as Europe, it had none the less a culture which was too far advanced to be termed primitive, and that the country was neither economically nor politically naive. Then Dr. Franklin passes on the more familiar ground of the Middle Passage and the growth of slavery on our shores, placing it in the wider context of slavery as it existed in the whole New World. The rest of his book is a chronological résumé of the history of the Negro in America down to the present day.

Dr. Franklin writes with tact and a fairness that often bends over backward; his is no chauvinistic tract but a factual account without bias or misstatement. As a piece of research alone it was very much worth publishing. Not since Carter G. Woodson's "The Negro in our History," published in 1922, have we had a history of the Negro which attempted to be definitive, and this one has the added prestige of trade-book publication. It is a competent job, and yet this reviewer, at least, has definite reservations about it.

If it is competent, it is seldom more than that. Although there is some fresh material—the sections on the Negro in Canada and, to a lesser degree, in Brazil—there is also a great deal which has already been worked to death. Dr. Franklin, unfortunately, is a better historian than interpreter of social forces, and he lacks the sharp eye of a good journalist. As a result there is too much here that is pedestrian and too little that is shot through with any feeling of life and movement. It also seems to this reviewer that some aspects of the subject are slighted—for example, the influence of the Negro press, whose impact on the community has been and continues to be second only to that of the church. Again, by limiting his discussion of Negro art and literature to the so-called Negro renaissance of the twenties, his whole evaluation of a culture has a shallowness that seems to me misleading. As for his sections on music and the theater, both are so telescoped as to seem off center, and he chooses to ignore what is perhaps the only original American art form, jazz, or mentions it casually in terms that show he has no idea what it is or how it came to be.

This is perhaps mere carping over unimportant details. If "From Slavery to Freedom" falls short of the mark in places, it may well be because of the extent of the ground it attempts to cover. It is important in any event, in spite of imperfections. The same may be said of all the books here discussed—for all of them help to establish a frame of reference which is badly needed for an understanding of the race problem.

BUCKLIN MOON

On Poetry

THE POETIC IMAGE. By C. Day Lewis. Oxford University Press. $3.

THE Clark lectures were given at Cambridge in 1946 by Cecil Day Lewis, whose subject was "The Poetic Image." It is to be hoped that lecturers are handsomely paid for such performances, for it must take a good deal of time and effort to organize the material, and the lecturer, if he is a modest man at all, can never feel sure that his categories are exact, or that his audience will not listen to what he quotes with more attention than they give anything he says in between. Mr. Lewis is modest and courteous; he quotes generously and with taste; he cares for poetry as a pleasant experience rather than as an opportunity for the exercise of dissection; he is sympathetic, not too avant-garde, not too old-fogy. The Nature of the Image, The Field of Imagery, The Pattern of Images, The Living Image, Broken Images, The Eternal Spirit's Eternal Pastime—these are his divisions.

A touch of the old uplift in the final lecture, as you can see; and nothing to worry about if nature, field, and pattern all run together a little. To sum up, in a word, what these lectures are is *comfortable.* Oh, well, make it two words—*knowledgeable,* also.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Patient's Dilemma

YOU AND YOUR DOCTOR. By Benjamin F. Miller, M. D. Whittlesey House. $2.75.

HERE is a book which will be of value to everyone who is interested in the extension and improvement of medical care. Dr. Miller writes as a physician, not as a public-health administrator. He presents the dilemma of the patient who wants good health service but who loses his way amid specialists and also the dilemma of the physician who wants to practice first-rate medicine as he was trained to do while in medical school but who finds it hard to live up to his standards under the conditions of private practice. Himself a medical teacher and investigator, Dr. Miller sees the solution for both patient and doctor in an organized medical practice through groups of physicians paid by the patient through health insurance. His book will not serve those who are looking for blueprints of organization or legislation, but it does outline needs and policies effectively.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE scene of "A Friend Will Come Tonight" is a rather lenient Franco-Swiss insane asylum during the war. Some of the inmates are sane patriots in disguise; when local German soldiers make trouble, you begin to find out which are which. This seems at best a cheesy idea, but parts of the early reels are done with enough irony and visual style to make it look weirdly good. Later on the picture is done so abominably that you wonder how the same crew could write and film both ends of it. With over half an

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hour to get there, and a maximum five minutes to walk, none of the patriots bother to walk it until the last possible moment, to disconnect a time-signal which guarantees their destruction. Michel Simon is quite amusing as a sort of house Jesus.

"The Illegals," a film about the underground railroad through Europe to Palestine, was made on the spot, under heartbreaking difficulties, by Meyer Levin. Even the knowledge that I was watching actual participants in the actual exodus could seldom prevent me from feeling, sadly, that most of the picture is a bore. On shipboard, however, a new camera man took over, and the whole thing came powerfully to life. No doubt the intrinsic material here was at once visually more eloquent and more thickly within reach of the camera; but I suspect that the presence of a talented eye made the main difference.

"Key Largo." John Huston and Richard Brooks have almost completely rewritten Maxwell Anderson's play, and I think that in almost every way they have sharply improved on it. Huston's directing is even better than the screen play: in some respects, because the starting materials are so much less amenable to movies and so much less promising anyhow, this picture demonstrates his abilities even more impressively than "Treasure of Sierra Madre" does. Some of the points Huston wanted most to make were cut out of the picture after he finished it, and I rather doubt anyhow whether gangsters can be made to represent all that he meant them to—practically everything that is fundamentally wrong with postwar America; so the picture is weak in the way it was obviously intended to be strongest. Even as a study of character under stress it is sometimes stagy and once or twice next door to hammy; and nearly all of it has the smell of the studio and of intelligent but elaborate and compromised artifice. But it is exceedingly well acted, and as picture-making most of it is as well worth watching as anything you will see this year. Huston manages kinds of vitality, insight, and continuance within each shot and from one shot to the next which are the most inventive and original, the most exciting and the hardest to analyze, in contemporary movies; everything that he achieves visually is so revealing of character, atmosphere, emotion, idea, that its visual and rhythmic rightness and beauty, and the freshness and originality themselves, generally overtake one as afterthoughts. There are a few others so good that I hesitate to say it, but Huston seems to me the most vigorous and germinal talent working in movies today.

"So Evil My Love." A sinister artist tempts an innocent widow into passion and crime: still another of those lacy, overelaborated, psychosexual period melodramas by Joseph Shearing. Handsomely produced in England by an American company. Good enough work by Ray Milland; a nice minor job by one of the most attractive and neglected women in movies, Geraldine Fitzgerald; a professional and very likable performance by Ann Todd.

"Vicious Circle." A movie about persecuted Jews in Hungary, based on an actual—and outrageous—trial of the 1880's. The writing and directing are so old-stage and so pitifully bad that even such good actors as Fritz Kortner, Reinhold Schunzel, and Conrad Nagel are as helpless as mice in molasses.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT IS only in recent years that the Berkshire Festivals have acquired a little of a real festival character by offering special events in addition to the mere repetition of the Boston Symphony's winter standard repertory that Koussevitzky offered the first years. Wartime conditions led him to give Bach and Mozart concerts with a small orchestra; the school began to give productions of opera and other performances—though only for audiences composed of the "Friends of the Berkshire Music Center," who had demonstrated their friendship with donations of money for its support.

The trouble with the Bach and Mozart concerts—aside from the dulness of some of the works that are mere exercises of fluently mechanical craftsmanship—is that this eighteenth-century music is what Koussevitzky understands least what to do with. Toscanini once talked about the difficulties in playing this music with its few directions in the score, and about how boring Mozart is unless one knows what to do between the *p* in the first measure and the *f* twenty measures later—which is something he does know and Koussevitzky does not. Toscanini's adherence to the printed score doesn't mean that he produces nothing but the *p* in the first measure and the *f* twenty measures later: he enlivens the music with a profusion of subtle inflection between them. It is Koussevitzky who cannot think of anything to do between the *p* and the *f*; and the life in the music that depends on the subtle inflection is not created.

And so, although I had looked forward to the July 20 performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453—which is rarely played, though it is one of the most wonderful in the series of endlessly amazing works that Mozart created in this form—I was disappointed and irritated by the rattling off of the orchestral part which did nothing to present its delightful details to the listener's ear. The soloist, Lukas Foss, played the passage-work in the first movement fluently, but was wooden-fingered in the melodic episodes; the more surprising, therefore, was the excellence of his phrasing of the sustained melody in the slow movement.

There was, this time, none of the disintegration of drum-beats and loud sonorities that occurred in A. B. C.'s transmission of last year's performances from Tanglewood. But the sound came through dead; and the piano's quiet entrance in the slow movement was only the first of the passages—most of them quiet—which sounded as though they were being scrambled on one of those transatlantic telephone lines. It happened again in the finale, and more extensively in the *Andante di molto* of Mozart's Symphony K.338, which Koussevitzky played no better than the concerto.

The opera last summer was Mozart's "Idomeneo," for which one could not be sufficiently grateful to Boris Goldovsky. This summer it will be Rossini's unfamiliar "Il Turco in Italia," which, according to Francis Toye, "contains some delightful numbers, notably a quartet, a quintet, and a duet between the heroine and her husband that must

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be accounted one of the most plastic and varied essays of the kind ever written by the composer." Still, I would have been more interested in Berlioz's "The Trojans" or Musorgsky's own version of "Boris Godunov"; and I hope Mr. Goldovsky will get around to doing one of them next year.

As for the concerts of the full orchestra, they will offer two works of special interest: Stravinsky's "Oedipus Rex," which Koussevitzky will conduct on August 5, and Mahler's Symphony No. 2, which Bernstein will conduct on August 1.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Sternberg's Book: "An Inadequate Analysis"

Dear Sirs: Some time ago, in an editorial, you referred to Fritz Sternberg's recent book, "How to Stop the Russians—Without War," as "a forceful tract for our times," and you supported his recommendations as a viable solution for Europe. After a careful study of the book I am compelled to disagree with you.

Mr. Sternberg tries to confuse the reader by some remarks about "the real danger" which emanates from the struggle of the 1,500,000,000 people in Asia and Europe who are on the march, fighting against feudalism and for "a new social and economic balance." These remarks are apparently only meant to create an appropriate background for the main thesis of the book. The chief villain of our time is, for Sternberg, the Soviet Union. In Asia, the aim of Russian policy is, according to Sternberg, "unmistakable"—it is the "enlargement of the Russian orbit," while in Europe, Russia's goal is to draw Europe into that orbit, "completely upsetting the . . . balance of power in Russia's favor." Conquest of Europe is necessary in order to make up for Soviet industrial inferiority in relation to the giant capacity of the United States. Sternberg sums it up very neatly by saying, "In order to have peace we must stop the Russians," which, of course, is the same as saying that the Soviet Union alone is responsible for whatever war danger exists today.

One would assume that any responsible author who bases a whole book on such an extraordinary thesis—at a time when hysteria and alarming propaganda are rife—would feel obliged to give a thorough explanation of his position. But the reader will look in vain for such an interpretation. Instead, he will find many facile generalizations.

Since Mr. Sternberg feels that it is in Europe that the Russians must be stopped in order to preserve peace, his chief recommendations concern American foreign policy in Europe (aside from this he makes some sensible suggestions about China). For reasons mentioned before, war must be ruled out. Instead, the goal must be democratic socialism in a united Europe which "would be economically so strong that it would not have to fear any further Russian aggression." And the chief responsibility for accomplishing this millennium lies with the United States! Except for a recital of the customary institutions of Western political democracy, the author omits any discussion of what he means by "democratic socialism." There is not a word as to whether and how such a system of socialism could be achieved or what the difficulties and obstacles would be.

There is hardly a word about the tremendous political, economic, and social differences among the various countries of Europe, about the nationalistic spirit in many of them, and their unwillingness to "unite." Nowhere is the question even raised, let alone discussed, whether some of those nations want "democratic socialism," whether the political climate of present-day France and Italy, to mention only the largest nations on the Continent, is particularly conducive to the introduction of such a system. And when it comes to the role of the United States, it is suggested that this country play an important, if not decisive, part in the transformation of a whole continent—the United States which is just now engaged at home and abroad in fighting more emphatically than ever the slightest shift toward a more ordered and planned economic society.

Mr. Sternberg knows, of course, that the introduction of democratic socialism in Europe would, at best, be a very slow process, while to believe the author, the danger of war is acute now and not a generation hence, when the new order in Europe, the alleged bulwark against Soviet aggression, might be accomplished.

What Mr. Sternberg really advocates is something quite different, as may be found on page 142 of his book: ". . . . If a strong, independent third force is created in Europe, the military strength of Russia will be so inferior to that of the United States plus Europe that Russian aggression would become unthinkable." "Democratic socialism" as the best means "to stop the Russians" is a smoke screen. What he really wants is the militarization of Europe, obviously with American guidance and help (which has meanwhile been started at Brussels).

There is no need to dwell on the frightening implications of such a policy. The Sternberg book is dangerous

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since it is based on an utterly inadequate analysis of the world situation and since it recommends rearmament against, and a hostile attitude to, the Soviet Union rather than a peaceful settlement through consultation and cooperation, to which all member nations committed themselves in the Charter of the United Nations.

OTTO NATHAN

New York, July 6

"Clear and Convincing"

Dear Sirs: Fritz Sternberg's book, "How to Stop the Russian—Without War," though mentioned editorially in *The Nation*, has not been reviewed in these pages. Therefore it may be well to reply to Mr. Nathan by summarizing the most important points of its argument.

Though the United States at present has a far greater industrial capacity than Russia, and hence a more powerful war potential, a preventive war would be disastrous to all concerned. Neither Mr. Sternberg nor Mr. Nathan wants war with Russia, now or in the future.

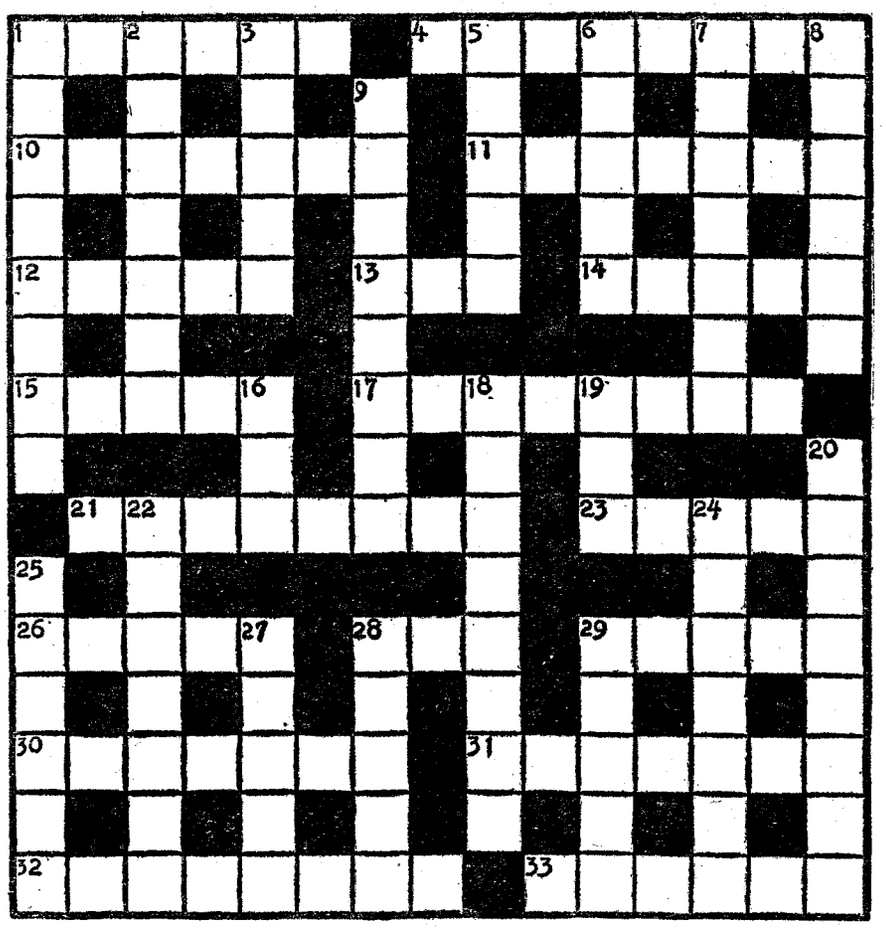
Furthermore, so great is the industrial lead of the United States that Russian capacity, that is, the capacity of the territory now within the Soviet Union, even after several five-year plans, would not equal it. Mr. Sternberg makes the reasonable assumption that industrial capacity is the basis of victory in modern war, and concludes therefore that the leaders of the Soviet Union will not provoke war with us as long as they are handicapped by a marked industrial inferiority. Of course he does not advocate that we provoke war with them.

Soviet industrial capacity combined with that of Western Europe, however, would substantially equal ours. Two aggregates of power, between them controlling the world, would, Mr. Sternberg believes, make war much more likely. History shows no such equilibrium of long duration. This offers the ultimate danger of war, with which the book is chiefly concerned. There undoubtedly is an immediate danger, but if both sides avoid preventive war it can be outlived.

How, then, are we to prevent Western Europe from falling under Soviet domination? We cannot do so, Sternberg argues, by military means or even exclusively by economic aid, though economic recovery is indispensable. What Americans tend to overlook is that the struggle is largely political. Europe is in the midst of a great social revolution. It cannot be saved by application of the formulas of private enterprise, even though capitalism may still

Crossword Puzzle No. 273

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Car which made it first to the river. (2, 4)
4 Flourish—at 15–23, perhaps? (9)
10 How to make a sort of lamb say something unfathomable. (7)
11 These keep one on the right track . . . . . (7)
12 . . . . . while these birds make tracks. (5)
13 This must be taken in hand whenever one pockets things. (3)
14 Least likely to be dry. (5)
15 Tennyson had the sea do it over and over. (5)
17 How bean-soup is served! (8)
21 Alfred Lunt to Lynn Fontanne? (8)
23 See 4. (5)
26 Not a licensed receiver. (5)
28 The top of 24 has changed in both cases. (3)
29 Extra thin. (5)
30 Implies one should listen before one speaks. (7)
31 Not worth much as instructions for a habitual over-indulger. (7)
32 Nestling. (8)
33 How Medusa was entertained. (6)

DOWN

1 I'd come back to a group of people to make such a speech. (8)
2 Sometimes broken by buildings. (7)
3 Bemoaned with the mores. (5)
5 Even this is bored in the army. (5)
6 Earns some change, but is rather close with it. (5)
7 When it isn't raining, this is how to get things dyed-in-the-wool. (7)
8 How they hurry out of Athens. (6)
9 Strangely enough, it's almost all red. (5, 3)
16 Kind of locker. (3)
18 Like us both, i. e., he was philosophical. (8)
19 A fool, of a sort. (3)
20 Pressed a change, and was thereupon slandered. (8)
22 What one pulls to make the gun go off. (7)
24 Pair of religious folk at table? (7)
25 A couple of articles surround what E and I usually do. (6)
27 It holds up when the lease is broken. (5)
28 It's a race for Mary, and no doctor! (5)
29 Such a table is found in cafeterias. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 272

ACROSS:—1 DOWN IN THE MOUTH; 9 CELLI; 10 AUSTRALIA; 11 DRUGGISTS; 12 TUTTI; 13 LIGHT; 15 HOI POLLOI; 18 TEST-PAPER; 19 SABLE; 20 RENEW; 22 PYGMALION; 25 LIVERPOOL; 26 BRAGG; 27 YPRES; 28 FORCEMEAT.

DOWN:—1 DICED; 2 WALPURGIS NIGHT; 3 ICING; 4 TRANSSHIP; 5 EASES; 6 MARATHONS; 7 UNLIT; 8 HEAVISIDE; 13 LATERALLY; 14 TAPEWORMS; 16 IRREGULAR; 17 LUBRICATE; 21 NEVER; 22 PROOF; 23 AMBLE.

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be workable in the United States. The European middle class has become almost powerless; the economic disorganization is too great. Unity is essential to recovery, and the reactionary forces cannot bring unity because they are committed to nationalism. To support the De Gaulles and the cartellists would be to hand Western Europe over to the Communists. It would be to lose the political struggle, which we cannot lose if war is to be prevented. This is the main point the book tries to drive home.

What we must support are the forces in Europe which desire to bring about recovery by Socialist planning on a Continental scale. Under their leadership, further political penetration by Russia can be checked. Fortunately, every Western European country has an important Socialist movement which also believes in democracy and personal freedom. These Socialist groups are America's natural allies in (a) furthering European recovery and unity, (b) preserving liberty, (c) preventing war. I can find no suggestion in Mr. Sternberg's book that he looks forward to their assistance in a military crusade against Russia. Such a suggestion would be absurd, since the last thing they want is to be destroyed. On the contrary, once they were solidly established, they would be a "third force" interposed between Russian communism and Western capitalism. Russia would probably deal peaceably with them if it could not control them.

Undoubtedly, this is a difficult program, but what is the alternative favored by Mr. Nathan? If he despairs of a sufficient degree of European unity, he is less courageous even than Winston Churchill or the sponsors of E. R. P. Does he favor the use of American aid to raise again to power the pro-Nazis and the chauvinists? Surely not. Does he favor abandoning the Marshall Plan? There is not time now to stop in mid-course and try to organize aid under the U. N., even supposing Moscow would permit unanimity in such a plan.

Mr. Sternberg's book is not a long and scholarly work; it is deliberately compressed and simplified so as to be readable by a large public. No doubt he could add many qualifications and explanations in a book addressed to scholars like Dr. Nathan. But to me his thesis is clear and convincing. It is not an argument for the position that Soviet Russia alone is responsible for the danger of war. Also responsible, Mr. Sternberg evidently believes, are those in this country who are trying to thwart the Socialist organization of Europe. His effort is really to stop them so that we shall be in a position to make peace with Russia.

GEORGE SOULE

New York, July 20

Taxes and Profits

Dear Sirs: In recent issues of various national magazines—including the issue of *Life* which defines "happiness" for mankind—there appears an advertisement signed Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc., which contains the following statement:

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